



# **HASRAT MOHANI: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF HIS POLITICAL CAREER AND IDEOLOGY**

## **ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS**

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

**Doctor of Philosophy**

IN

**HISTORY**

By

**MOHAMMAD ARSHAD**

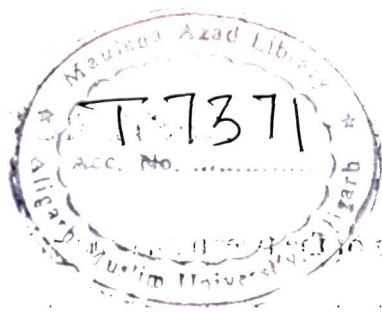
Under the Supervision of

**DR. IQBAL SABIR**

CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY  
ALIGARH (INDIA)

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## ABSTRACT

The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed great changes and new trends in the political environment of the Indian Sub-Continent. Indian National Congress which had so far adopted liberal and loyal attitude towards the British Government by demanding constitutional reforms, formation of democratic institutions and more and more representation of Indians in civil as well as other Government services, now thought it necessary to raise voice in favour of Swaraj (the Self-Government). Resolution was passed in this regard in its Calcutta session of 1906. In the mean time the Congress leaders were divided on this issue into two groups – moderates and extremists. And very soon, at the Surat Session in 1907, the extremists left the party. The whole political scenario was rapidly turning into anti-British atmosphere. Hindus of the country, who had been fighting so far, in an organized way, mostly under the banner of the Congress, were now politically more sound and strong than others. A number of attractive political personalities amongst them were endeavouring for the country's liberation.

As for Muslims, they had hitherto followed, most probably under the influence of Sir Syed's advice, the attitude of non-cooperation with the Indian National Congress. Eminent Muslim leaders of those days, particularly Sir Syed's successors and followers, came forward to found the Muslim League in 1906. However, a sizeable section of their population also felt attracted to Indian National Congress. Among the pioneers who took initiative in this direction and joined the Congress, Hasrat Mohani deserves special mention. Since the beginning of his political career, he was a man of hard principles and

**HERSIS**

a staunch opponent of British government. He, therefore, participated in almost all the movements of our freedom struggle. His whole life was full of struggle and sacrifice.

Hasrat Mohani, occupies a significant place in the cultural and political history of modern India. He is held as one of the first-rank and top-most leaders of the twentieth century national movement. His deep interest in the anti-British political affairs of the country may be seen clearly in his step, that without waiting for the result of his B.A. final examination, he started publishing his famous Urdu monthly periodical entitled *Urdu-i Mualla*. Its first issue appeared in July 1903 from Aligarh, which was, in a way, the nerve center of Muslim intellectual life in India. Though initially, for some time, it was a literary magazine but very soon political topics dominated it.

As pointed out earlier, many significant events were taking place, in the beginning of the twentieth century, in the political scenario of the sub-continent. The partition of Bengal in 1905, the Swadeshi and Boycott movements, the rise of terrorism and underground nationalist activities, the Simla Deputation of 1906, the formation of the Muslim League, the split in the Congress in 1907 etc. had exerted great influence on the contemporary Indian society. Consequently, "being impressed by the situation taking place, Hasrat Mohani, like other nationalist leaders, also could not keep himself aloof from this environment. He always exhibited a revolutionary temper and came to the forefront with a spirit of sincere devotion and sacrifice. Being possessed of a sensitive nature about his surroundings, he not only absorbed the trendiest currents but also accepted the challenges as and when they came his way.



Accordingly the articles written and published by him in the *Urdu-i Mualla* gave a fairly clear picture of his stand on the contemporary political issues of those days. The Indian National Congress was the only political body of importance in the country at that time. Therefore, Hasrat Mohani as mentioned above, at once took his stand with it and started vigorously participating in its activities. At the same time when he was struggling in his youth for the country's liberation, Hasrat Mohani also showed deep interest in the political developments of the contemporary Islamic world. Keeping in view the world brotherhood of Islam, he kept himself well informed of happenings in other Muslim countries.

He openly favoured and supported the leaders of the extremists group in the Congress and declared that in politics he considered himself, and others like him, bound to follow in the foot-steps of Balgangadhar Tilak, the leader of patriots, and Babu Aurobindo Ghosh, the chief of freedom-lovers. He vehemently criticized the leaders of the moderate wing of the Congress, the followers of the Muslim League and the founders of the Hindu Conference alike. He attempted to infuse a militant spirit into the Muslims and appealed them to join hands with the Hindus to work together for the freedom of their country.

Accordingly it was in the early year of the second decade of the twentieth century that Hasrat worked more energetically than ever to spread the message of the boycott and to win over people to Swadeshi goods. In order to preach and popularize his ideas among the masses particularly Muslims in those days Hasrat travelled far and wide in the cities of western U.P. and

eastern Punjab. He also participated in other political movements such as *Khilafat* Conferences, the Communist Movement in India, opposed the Nehru Report, campaigned for a Muslim University. He was imprisoned several times during the freedom movement and experienced lot of torture and hardships in jail. Thus all his life he actively participated in and struggled significant political issues to accomplish his object of swaraj for his motherland.

When in March 1940 the All India Muslim League in its session held at Lahore passed the Pakistan Resolution, Hasrat made great effort to avoid the country's partition. He now started his opinion that India should be composed of a number of republics grouped in five federations that along with one princely state (Hyderabad) should form an Indian confederation. Anyhow Muslim League succeeded in achieving Pakistan. While most of the League leaders shifted to Pakistan, Hasrat remained in Kanpur. He was an elected member of India's Constituent Assembly. He fulfilled responsibilities with full courage and confidence. Leading a revolutionary life, Maulana Hasrat Mohani passed away on 13 May 1951 in Lucknow and was buried, as per his desire, in the same city near the tomb of his spiritual mentor Maulana Abdul Wahab of Firangi Mahal.

## **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The present thesis proposes to study the following aspects and questions:

1. What was the role of Maulana Hasrat Mohani in the freedom struggle?

2. What was the place of Hasrat Mohani in the cultural and political history of modern India?
3. To analyse the role of Hasrat's Urdu monthly, *Urdu-i Mualla* in the political scenario of the Indian sub-continent.
4. To study the role of Hasrat Mohani in the political development of the contemporary Islamic world.
5. To examine Hasrat's role as an admirer and upholder of Hindu-Muslim unity.
6. To estimate Hasrat's efforts to popularize the swadeshi movement.
7. To review Hasrat's inclination towards the Communist Movement.
8. To study Hasrat's endeavour to stop the partition of the country.
9. To assess Hasrat's role after independence, to review and analyse his political ideas and personality.

Thus an attempt has been made in the following pages to present an account of Hasrat Mohani's contribution during our freedom struggle. The thesis is entitled as "*Hasrat Mohani : A Critical Appraisal of his Political Career and Ideology*". Initiating with the discussion of Hasrat's family background, providing details of his early political career and activities, and highlighting his role after independence, a special emphasis has been laid in this work on Hasrat's political activities which took place during the first half of the twentieth century and its impact on Indian life and thought. In this context Hasrat's *Urdu-i Mualla* has served as the most authentic source material and has been properly utilized for our work. The British Government official records preserved in the National and State Archives have also

benefited us. Some material regarding his political ideology has been derived from his poetical verses. Similarly, the letters of different political personality of the freedom movement are also very helpful for the present work. Moreover all modern works on Hasrat and on National Movement, both in English and Urdu, are also of great significance and have been completely utilized. The thesis, comprises seven chapters, the detail of which is as follows.

## **CHAPTER – I**

### **FAMILY BACKGROUND : EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION**

This chapter traces the ancestral chronology of Maulana Hasrat Mohani in detail. The history of the town Mohan has also been dealt with. The main factors responsible for the development of Hasrat's personality were his family background and his education which have been discussed in detail. His deep interest in poetry has also been described. His student life in the M.A.O. College and the then circumstances and reasons for his expulsion from there have also been discussed in detail.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **POLITICAL ACTIVITIES 1903 to 1910**

This chapter will deal with Hasrat's career from 1903 to 1910. He started his career as a journalist by publishing an Urdu monthly entitled *Urdu-i Mualla* from Aligarh. All important political events during the above period and its impact on the people has been discussed. The partition of Bengal in 1905, Swadeshi movement, the foundation of the Muslim League, the Surat Congress and its significance, Hasrat's first imprisonment in 1908 and the

hardship faced by him in the jail are other important aspects discussed in detail in this chapter.

### **CHAPTER III**

#### **POLITICAL ACTIVITIES BETWEEN 1910 to 1918**

An attempt has been made in this chapter to discuss in detail Hasrat's involvement in the political activities between 1910 to 1918. On his release from Allahabad Jail Hasrat again started the publication of the *Urdu-i Mualla* from Aligarh in October 1909 and started his own printing press known as the Urdu Press. This chapter discusses in detail the different articles published in the *Urdu-i Mualla* and its effect on the people. The Kanpur Mosque incident, the Muslim University movement, the freedom movement and beginning of the 1st World War, the Lucknow pact, the silk letter movement and Hasrat's second imprisonment in 1916 and other important aspects discussed in detail in this chapter.

### **CHAPTER IV**

#### **HASRAT IN KHILAFAT AND NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENTS**

This chapter reviews, Hasrat's role in the *Khilafat* and Non cooperation movements of the Indian freedom struggle. Hasrat's pivotal role in the *Khilafat* movement has been discussed. This chapter also discusses the Montague-Chelmsford Report of 1919, which provided separate Muslim electorates, as envisaged in the Lucknow Pact of 1916. But Hasrat Mohani strongly opposed the report and the new constitution. The Indian leaders reacted by launching the Non-cooperation movement in 1920. Mahatma Gandhi and Hasrat Mohani

differed in their views as regards the non-cooperation movement. The difference of opinion between Mahatma Gandhi and Hasrat Mohani relating to various significant political issues has been reviewed in detail in this chapter. Hasrat was imprisoned for the third time in 1922 and was inflicted with a lot of injustice and various false charges were put on him which has been discussed in detail.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **POLITICAL ROLE FROM 1924 – 1937**

This chapter reviews Hasrat Mohani's political role from 1924-1937. The Communist party was established in India in 1925 under the auspices of M.N. Roy and many more leaders of India, and Hasrat Mohani was one of these leaders who played a crucial role in organizing and forming of the Communist Party on Indian soil. The role of Hasrat Mohani in the various communist conferences has been elaborately discussed. The response to the Nehru-Report and his attitude towards civil disobedience Movement and his complete participation in it, the formation of the Azad Party by Hasrat Mohani and Maulana Azad Subhani, its aims and objectives and the publication of the '*Mustaqil*', a paper published by Hasrat in 1928 are other important aspects discussed in this chapter.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **ASSOCIATION WITH MUSLIM LEAGUE AND PAKISTAN MOVEMENTS**

Maulana Hasrat Mohani was deeply involved in the national political developments but simultaneously took keen interest in contemporary Muslim social life and politics of the country. His association with the Muslim League and his active participation in all its activities has been dealt with in this chapter. His complete participation in all the Pakistan movements also form an important theme of this chapter. An attempt has been made in this chapter to analyse Hasrat's scheme and programme for an independent India.

## **CHAPTER VII**

### **HASRAT AFTER INDEPENDENCE**

After independence most of the Muslim League members made their way to the newly achieved Pakistan but Hasrat remained in India. The extracts from his personal diary have been utilized to illustrate his stand in this chapter. This chapter aims to analyse his role as an active and responsible member of the constituent Assembly. His views are reflected in his speeches which have been quoted in this chapter to show his point of view on various significant issues discussed in the Assembly.

In the conclusion an attempt has been made to assess Hasrat's personality and political career. An attempt has also been made to trace his links with the political struggle and freedom movement of the country. The impact of his political ideas on the freedom movement has also been explained. His efforts to make the Muslim community a politically conscious and educated community has also been assessed.

The thesis also comprises a bibliography of both published and unpublished contemporary, semi-contemporary and other works utilized in its

preparation. Moreover, there are some appendices also through which an attempt has been made to bring to light the original material regarding the subject.





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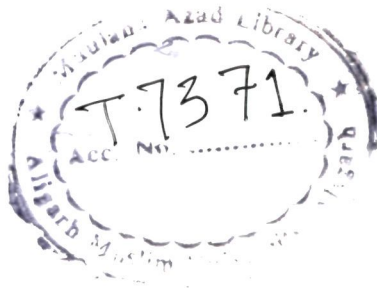
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ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY  
ALIGARH (INDIA)**

**2009**



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**DEDICATED**

**TO**

**THE MEMORY**

**OF**

**MY FATHER**

**Mr. Kamal Ahmad Khan (ob. 1998)**

**THESIS**



## CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY

*Dr. Iqbal Sabir*  
Sr. Lecturer

Department of History  
Aligarh Muslim University  
Aligarh-202002, U.P. (India)  
Phone: 0571-2730146 (O)  
Mobile: 09411488564

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Dated : 17 April, 2009

### *Certificate*

This is to certify that **Mr. Mohammad Arshad** has completed his research work under my supervision. The present thesis prepared by him on **“Hasrat Mohani : A Critical Appraisal of His Political Career and Ideology”**, is his original research work. I consider it fit for submission for the award of Ph.D. degree in History.

  
(DR. IQBAL SABIR)  
Supervisor

THESIS

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## **PREFACE-CUM-ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

*Muslims, like other inhabitants of India, have greatly contributed to the social, cultural and political development of their homeland. Even in our struggle for freedom they made great contribution. Their participation in India's war of independence not only is recorded in the pages of our history but gave Philip to the national movement. Among the Muslim leaders and intellectuals, who emerged in the beginning of the first half of the twentieth century and made all sorts of sacrifice for the sake of their country, Maulana Hasrat Mohani holds significant position. His impact on our modern society and culture has been very deep and wide. His role in the freedom struggle on our country is very significant. He made strenuous efforts throughout his life for the liberation from foreign rulers. The present thesis is an attempt to bring to light different aspects of political life and analyse his role and contribution in India's struggle for freedom.*

*A Ph.D thesis is both an excruciating and enjoyable experience. This thesis is the product of many years of work, procrastination, changing minds and opinions and a colossal amount of external assistance. During these years, I have always dreamt that one day I would write the acknowledgement of my thesis, which would mean that it was nearly over. Now this moment has arrived and it is very crucial for me how to start. There have been many people, both in Aligarh and outside, supporting me during these days, in every different ways. I express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to all who supported me energetically during the exciting and productive phases of this thesis. Without their kind help I could not have finished my work successfully. I extend my thanks to all of them.*

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*I feel truly honoured to squeeze out my thankfulness towards the staff of the Research Library of our department cum C.A.S. All of them have always been kind and helpful to me. My thanks are also due to the office staff of the department. Moreover, I express my deep sense of gratitude to the staffs of the National Archives of India; the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library; the Indian Council of Historical Research Library and Central Secretariat Library,*



*New Delhi; Haleem College Library, Kanpur; Tagore Library, Lucknow University, Lucknow and Nadwat-ul Ulama Library, Lucknow. I am also indebted to Mr. Hamid Ali of Gorkahpur for allowing me to benefit from his personal collection. I am also grateful to Mr. Sajid Naim, Assistant Curator, Sir Syed Academy, A.M.U. Aligarh. He always made everything available to me at a moment notice.*

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*I am highly grateful to my well-wishers and family members Mr. Abu Bakar Khan, Mr. Sai Mohammad Khan, Mr. Ashfaq A. Khan, Dr. Zubair A. Khan, Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, Mr. Masoodur Rahman, Mr. Irshad Ahmad, Dr.*

*C.B. Gupta, Mr. Kishan, Mr. Talha Ismail, Mr. Md. Imran Ali Khan, Mr. Nadeem Ahmad, Mr. S. Salahuddin, Dr. Maroof A.Khan, Mr. Iqbal Ahmad, Mr. Kamal Ahmad and Mr. H.K. Sharma. I express my love and affection for little children Ijaz Wali Sabir and Fatma Hala Khan. They always stood by my side. Their unconditional support and help have been really decisive for me. They always encouraged me to fulfill my dreams. I would like to thank everybody who is important to the successful realization of this thesis and express my apology for not mentioning their names one by one.*

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*Finally I can't live at this moment without remembering my father (Late) Mr. Kamal Ahmad Khan and my grandmother (Late) Mrs. Fulsain Nisa Khan. Their holy spirits have always been around me with lot of blessings. May Allah Almighty shower His Grace and Mercy on and provide His nearness to both of them in Heaven.*



*(Mohammad Arshad)  
Research Scholar  
Centre of Advanced Study  
Department of History  
A.M.U., Aligarh (India)*

*Dated : 17.04.2009*

# *Introduction*

## INTRODUCTION

The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed great changes and new trends in the political environment of the Indian Sub-Continent. Indian National Congress which had so far adopted liberal and loyal attitude towards the British Government by demanding constitutional reforms, formation of democratic institutions and more and more representation of Indians in civil as well as other Government services, now thought it necessary to raise voice in favour of Swaraj (the Self-Government). Resolution was passed in this regard in its Calcutta session of 1906. In the mean time the Congress leaders were divided on this issue into two groups – moderates and extremists. And very soon, at the Surat Session in 1907, the extremists left the party. The whole political scenario was rapidly turning into anti-British atmosphere. Hindus of the country, who had been fighting so far, in an organized way, mostly under the banner of the Congress, were now politically more sound and strong than others. A number of attractive political personalities amongst them were endeavouring for the country's liberation. As for Muslims, they had hitherto followed, most probably under the influence of Sir Syed's advice, the attitude of non-cooperation with the Indian National Congress. Eminent Muslim leaders of those days, particularly Sir Syed's successors and followers, came forward to found the Muslim League in 1906. However, a sizeable section of their population also felt attracted to Indian National Congress. Among the pioneers who took initiative in this direction and joined the Congress, Hasrat Mohani deserves special mention. Since the beginning of his political career, he was a man of hard principles and a staunch opponent of British government. He,

therefore, participated in almost all the movements of our freedom struggle. His whole life was full of struggle and sacrifice.

Born in 1881 in Mohan, a *qasba* (town) in the Unnao district, near Lucknow, in Uttar Pradesh, Syed Fazlul Hasan, commonly called Maulana Hasrat Mohani, occupies a significant place in the cultural and political history of modern India. He is held as one of the first-rank and top-most leaders of the twentieth century national movement. A graduate of the M.A.O. College of Aligarh, Maulana Hasrat was deeply inclined to Indian National Congress and started participating in the freedom struggle even during his College-days. It was on account of his pro-Congress political activities that once he was expelled from the Aligarh College. His deep interest in the anti-British political affairs of the country may be seen clearly in his step, that without waiting for the result of his B.A. final examination, he started publishing his famous Urdu monthly periodical entitled *Urdu-i Mualla*. Its first issue appeared in July 1903 from Aligarh, which was, in a way, the nerve center of Muslim intellectual life in India. Though initially, for some time, it was a literary magazine but very soon political topics dominated it. As pointed out earlier, many significant events were taking place, in the beginning of the twentieth century, in the political scenario of the sub-continent. The partition of Bengal in 1905, the Swadeshi and Boycott movements, the rise of terrorism and underground nationalist activities, the Simla Deputation of 1906, the formation of the Muslim League, the split in the Congress in 1907 etc. had exerted great influence on the contemporary Indian society. Consequently, being impressed by the situation taking place, Hasrat Mohani, like other nationalist leaders, also could not keep himself aloof from this environment. He always exhibited a

revolutionary temper and came to the forefront with a spirit of sincere devotion and sacrifice. Being possessed of a sensitive nature about his surroundings, he not only absorbed the trendiest currents but also accepted the challenges as and when they came his way. Accordingly the articles written and published by him in the *Urdu-i Mualla* gave a fairly clear picture of his stand on the contemporary political issues of those days. The Indian National Congress was the only political body of importance in the country at that time. Therefore, Hasrat Mohani as mentioned above, at once took his stand with it and started vigorously participating in its activities. Soon after the completion of his education in the M.A.O. College, he started attending Congress sessions. This was the time when the Muslim community held aloof from it. There were very few people among the Muslims who favoured the Congress. Hasrat, in this turbid atmosphere, supported the Congress and spoke of independence with boldness and courage. As his voice rose from Aligarh, which was a strong center of anti-Congress Muslim political leaders and intellectuals, it seriously drew the attention of the Muslim community. He used his journal in an attempt to dispel the fears of the Muslims and to encourage them to join the Congress and take an active part in its support.

At the same time when he was struggling in his youth for the country's liberation, Hasrat Mohani also showed deep interest in the political developments of the contemporary Islamic world. Keeping in view the world brotherhood of Islam, he kept himself well informed of happenings in other Muslim countries. In this connection he published in *Urdu-i Mualla* a letter written to him in Persian by Maulvi Barkatullah Bhopali from New York. The latter had left India many years before the first world war and made Pan-

Islamism his life mission. Barkatullah in his letter has examined world power-politics and showed the role of the British in this context. The letter also vehemently emphasized the unity of the Hindus and Muslims by advocating the cause of the Indian National Congress. Similarly, in April 1907, Hasrat Mohani, being worried of the political condition of Egypt published an article entitled 'The Egyptian Problem and British Conscience'. And after a year, in February-March 1908, he devoted a whole issue to the memory of the Egyptian leader Mustafa Kamal Pasha. This was followed in April 1908 by an article entitled 'Educational Policy of Britishers in Egypt' in which he badly criticized the British Educational Policy. At this time the British authorities took action. Debaring its contents objectionable they instituted a charge of sedition against *Urdu-i Mualla*. Hasrat was arrested and sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment. A fine of five thousand rupees was also announced. On appealing to the High Court, the sentence was reduced from two to one year's imprisonment, with a further six month in case the fine was not paid. The imprisonment began on 4<sup>th</sup> August, 1908. In the beginning he was kept in Aligarh Jail, but after few days he was transferred to Allahabad Jail. From the very first day, he had to face a rigorous punishment – grinding wheat at the handmill, both in Aligarh and Allahabad Jails. As a matter of fact for almost the whole period of his imprisonment he had to grind one *moun* (about 36.25 kg) every day, not generally given even to ordinary prisoners for more than one month or two during the same imprisonment. In Allahabad, he was kept for some time in the worst cell of the jail in which generally cut throats and dacoits were kept. It was in this jail that Hasrat first time met Swami Shivanand who was a true follower of Balgangadhar Tilak and had been sentenced to seven

years for sedition at Amrawati. In Hasrat Mohani's own words his meeting with the Swami Ji in the imprisonment was one of the major temporal as well as spiritual benefits. After coming out of prison, Hasrat again took up residence in Aligarh, which had now become the headquarters of the Muslim League. He, however, remained firm in his allegiance to the Congress and never hesitated to criticize the League. The publications of *Urdu-i Mualla* was renewed and the first issue of the second period appeared in October 1909. In the next issue he openly favoured and supported the leaders of the extremists group in the Congress and declared that in politics he considered himself, and others like him, bound to follow in the foot-steps of Balgangadhar Tilak, the leader of patriots, and Babu Aurobindo Ghosh, the chief of freedom-lovers. In the same issue he vehemently criticized the leaders of the moderate wing of the Congress, the followers of the Muslim League and the founders of the Hindu Conference alike. In the issue of December 1909, he published a review on a booklet entitled '*Aurobindo Ghosh Aur Un Ki Taleem*' (Aurobindo Ghosh and his Education) in which he paid his high tribute to the latter in these words : "In the circle of true patriots he holds, without any doubt, the highest position after Mr. Tilak". The issue of January 1910 carried an article entitled '*Apne Ahl-i Watan Ke Nam*' (To Our Countrymen). It was in fact a translation of a short article of Aurobindo Ghosh – published in English in his journal *Karmayuga*, Calcutta, in which it had been emphasized that the further progress of the country was entirely in the hands of the extremists. In the mean time the famous sufi and Urdu writer as well as journalist Khwaja Hasan Nizami, the *sajjada nashin* (custodian) of the dargah of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia in Delhi made defamatory remarks about Aurobindo Ghosh in an article entitled '*Khuni*



*Darwesh*' (The Bloody Saint). In this article Hasan Nizami had said that Sufis, saints and sanyasis should keep themselves aloof from politics. Hasrat Mohani severely criticised this stand in *Urdu-i Mualla* of February 1910. During the following year Hasrat wrote many articles in which he attempted to infuse a militant spirit into the Muslims and appealed them to join hands with the Hindus to work together for the freedom of their country. In 1911 and 1912 Hasrat published several articles on the worst political condition of the Muslims of different regions and attacked Britishers and their policies. His *Urdu-i Mualla* carried a number of articles in this regard. Accordingly it was in the early year of the second decade of the twentieth century that Hasrat worked more energetically than ever to spread the message of the boycott and to win over people to Swadeshi goods. In this connection he published a supplement entitled 'The Boycott Movement' in the issue of *Urdu-i Mualla* of April in which he argued quoting references from the *Hadith* and the *Holy Quran*, signifying that the boycott of foreign goods and adoption of Swadeshi Movements have religious sanction. In order to preach and popularize his ideas among the masses particularly Muslims in those days Hasrat travelled far and wide in the cities of western U.P. and eastern Punjab. Not only this he took a further step in this direction and established a Swadeshi Store at Russel Gunj in Aligarh for which Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, the famous merchant of Bombay gave him merchandise on credit on the recommendation of Maulana Shibli Nomani. It appears that Hasrat desired to see the establishment of a network of these shops by Muslims throughout the country. This was going too far and too fast for the Governments liking and action was now taken against him. A security of three thousand rupees was demanded from his press under the Press

Act of 1910. Consequently in May 1913 the publication of the *Urdu-i Mualla* came to an end.

It was in August 1914 that the First World War broke out. The situation took an even more critical turn. Indian revolutionaries saw British difficulties as their opportunities and intensified their activities even more. Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi went to Kabul and after making effort for few months with the help of other revolutionaries, succeeded in establishing Government of India in exile at Kabul in 1915. Raja Mahendra Pratap was appointed the President of India and the other great revolutionary Barkatullah Bhopali was elected the Prime Minister. Obaidullah Sindhi, Sardar Nasrullah Khan, and Amir Habibullah Khan were the members of the council of the ministers. Hasrat Mohani extended his full support to these revolutionaries. Likewise, some other Muslim extremists established another organization called *Junaid-i Rabbania* which was meant as revolutionary Muslim army for the liberation of India, Hasrat was appointed as one of its Lieutenant General. At the same time Hasrat also actively participated in the campaign for a Muslim University. It was because of all these activities that the Government of India regarded him as a very dangerous man. Therefore he was arrested for the second time on 13<sup>th</sup> April, 1916, at Aligarh. Still he was in jail that in December 1916 the Congress and the Muslim League held their sessions in Lucknow and agreed upon a resolution to solve the communal problem. This agreement is known in the history of our freedom movement as the Lucknow Pact.

Having been kept in the imprisonment in Lalitpur, Allahabad, Pratapgarh, Faizabad and Meerut for two years, Hasrat Mohani was released on

22<sup>nd</sup> May 1918. At that time the war was drawing close and the conflict between the British Government and its Indian opponents was soon to come to a head. Both the Congress and the Muslim League had expressed dissatisfaction over Montague-Chelmsford Report. Hasrat also criticised this step. Similarly the tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh also deeply shocked him.

It was the time when the *Khilafat* Movement was started by the Indian Muslims under the leadership of Ali Brothers – Maulana Mohammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali – in support of the Sultan of Turkey who also held the position of the *Khilafat-ul Muslimin*, the spiritual head of the Muslims of the world. The first *Khilafat* Conference was held in Delhi on 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1919. Hasrat played a most important part in the Conference. Here he once again strongly advocated a boycott of British made goods and the use of Swadeshi. In 27-30 December 1919 when both the Congress and Muslim League held their sessions at Amritsar, Hasrat Mohani, with the support of Maulana Abdul Bari of Firangi Mahal, played significant role in Muslim theologians decision that on the occasion of *Eid-ul Azha* Muslims should not sacrifice the cow, which is sacred to the Hindus. In fact Hindu-Muslim unity was at its highest peak at that time. In January 1920 he shifted from Aligarh and settled in Kanpur where he once again started the publication of the *Urdu-i Mualla* in January 1925. He also established a Swadeshi Store as a limited concern in Kanpur.

Hasrat Mohani, like other Muslim Congress leaders opposed the Nehru Report. He seems to have played no significant part in the important events which took place during the next five to six years. He also, seems in effect to

have held aloof from the political activities. However in 1929, he brought out an Urdu daily from Kanpur named *Mustaqil*. In August 1932 he presided over the U.P. Jamiat-ul Ulama Conference. It was in 1937 elections, after the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act of 1935, that Hasrat had become the active member of the Muslim League. But he could not reconcile himself completely with its programme because he had continued to develop his attachments to Communism and to the Soviet Union. He, however, remained a regular member of the working committee of the U.P. Muslim League. He went to attend the Palestine Conference in 17 October 1938 at Cairo as a member of the Indian Muslim delegation and in 1939 he went on a tour to some European countries. This journey brought Hasrat Mohani into direct contact with western world with all its glamour, and all its weak and strong points.

When in March 1940 the All India Muslim League in its session held at Lahore passed the Pakistan Resolution, Hasrat made great effort to avoid the country's partition. According by in January-March, 1942 issue of *Urdu-i Mualla* he set out his views of the line upon which an independent India should be constituted. He now started his opinion that India should be composed of a number of republics grouped in five federations that along with one princely state (Hyderabad) should form an Indian confederation. Anyhow Muslim League succeeded in achieving Pakistan. While most of the League leaders shifted to Pakistan, Hasrat remained in Kanpur. He was an elected member of India's Constituent Assembly. He fulfilled responsibilities with full courage and confidence. Leading a revolutionary life, Maulana Hasrat Mohani passed away on 13 May 1951 in Lucknow and was buried, as per his desire, in the

same city near the tomb of his spiritual mentor Maulana Abdul Wahab of Firangi Mahal.

## **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The present thesis, consisting of this introduction, seven chapters and a conclusion, proposes to study the following aspects and questions :

1. What was the role of Maulana Hasrat Mohani in the freedom struggle.
2. What was the place of Hasrat Mohani in the cultural and political history of modern India.
3. To analyse the role of Hasrat's Urdu monthly, *Urdu-i Mualla* in the political scenario of the Indian sub-continent.
4. To study the role of Hasrat Mohani in the political development of the contemporary Islamic world.
5. To examine Hasrat's role as an admirer and upholder of Hindu-Muslim unity.
6. To estimate Hasrat's efforts to popularize the swadeshi movement.
7. To review Hasrat's inclination towards the Communist Movement.
8. To study Hasrat's endeavour to stop the partition of the country.
9. To assess Hasrat's role after independence, to review and analyse his political ideas and personality.

Thus an attempt has been made in the following pages to present an account of Hasrat Mohani's contribution during our freedom struggle. The thesis is entitled as "*Hasrat Mohani : A Critical Appraisal of his Political Career and Ideology*". Initiating with the discussion of Hasrat's family

background, providing details of his early political career and activities, and highlighting his role after independence, a special emphasis has been laid in this work on Hasrat's political activities which took place during the first half of the twentieth century and its impact on Indian life and thought. In this context Hasrat's *Urdu-i Mualla* has served as the most authentic source material and has been properly utilized for our work. The British Government official records preserved in the National and State Archives have also benefited us. Some material regarding his political ideology has been derived from his poetical verses. Similarly, the letters of different political personality of the freedom movement are also very helpful for the present work. Moreover all modern works on Hasrat and on National Movement, both in English and Urdu, are also of great significance and have been completely utilized. The thesis, comprises seven chapters, the detail of which is as follows.

## **CHAPTER – I**

### **FAMILY BACKGROUND : EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION**

This chapter traces the ancestral chronology of Maulana Hasrat Mohani in detail. The history of the town Mohan has also been dealt with. The main factors responsible for the development of Hasrat's personality were his family background and his education which have been discussed in detail. His own family tradition was one of scholarship and religious devotion and the influence of family atmosphere, and of schooling combined to make a deep impression on his young mind. His deep interest in poetry has also been described. Not only was he a great scholar of Arabic, Persian and Urdu but he excelled in Mathematics also. His student life in the M.A.O. College and the

then circumstances and reasons for his expulsion from there have also been discussed in detail

## **CHAPTER II**

### **POLITICAL ACTIVITIES 1903 to 1910**

This chapter will deal with Hasrat's career from 1903 to 1910. He started his career as a journalist by publishing an Urdu monthly entitled *Urdu-i Mualla* from Aligarh. Its first issue appeared in July 1903. His efforts to change the Muslim political views prevailing at that time in the Indian sub-continent through his journal has been discussed in detail. All important political events during the above period and its impact on the people has been discussed. The partition of Bengal in 1905 by Lord Curzon to create a gift between the Hindus and Muslims and its aftermath is described in detail. The resultant swadeshi movement and the tussle between the moderates and extremists, their difference of opinion and ideology, the foundation of the Muslim League and the point of view of its members, the Surat Congress and its significance, Hasrat's first imprisonment in 1908 and the hardship faced by him in the jail are other important aspects discussed in detail in this chapter.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **POLITICAL ACTIVITIES BETWEEN 1910 to 1918**

An attempt has been made in this chapter to discuss in detail Hasrat's involvement in the political activities between 1910 to 1918. On his release from Allahabad Jail Hasrat again started the publication of the *Urdu-i Mualla* from Aligarh in October 1909 and started his own printing press known as the

Urdu Press. This chapter discusses in detail the different articles published in the *Urdu-i Mualla* and its effect on the people. The significance of this journal as a medium to enlighten the people about the freedom movement and to illumine their minds against the British imperialism and its repercussions on the country men is an important theme of this chapter. The popularity of *Urdu-i Mualla* caused great insecurity to the British government who confiscated the Urdu Press in 1913 and fined Hasrat Mohani a sum of three thousand rupees. The Kanpur Mosque incident in which a portion of the mosque was demolished leading to protests and agitation of the people against the government. The havoc caused by firing on Muslims of Kanpur resulting in anti-British feelings all over the country has been discussed. Although the Hindu temple opposite the mosque did not suffer any setback during road construction, yet the Hindus of the city whole heartedly supported the cause of rebuilding the mosque. This incident brings to light the cordial relations and unity of the Hindu-Muslim community. The Muslim University movement, the freedom movement and beginning of the Ist World War, the Lucknow pact, the silk letter movement and Hasrat's second imprisonment in 1916 and other important aspects discussed in detail in this chapter.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **HASRAT IN KHILAFAT AND NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENTS**

This chapter reviews, Hasrat's role in the *Khilafat* and Non cooperation movements of the Indian freedom struggle. The sultan of Turkey was considered the *Khalifa* of all the Muslims over the world. But as a result of the World War I the British put an end to the office of *Khalifa*. The *Khilafat*



movement was initiated to revive the *Khilafat* office. The Ali brothers i.e. Maulana Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, known in our history of modern period as the Ali Brothers, played most significant role in launching and popularizing this movement. Hasrat's pivotal role in the *Khilafat* movement has been discussed. This chapter also discusses the Montague-Chelmsford Report of 1919, which provided separate Muslim electorates, as envisaged in the Lucknow Pact of 1916. But Hasrat Mohani strongly opposed the report and the new constitution. The anxiety was growing in public mind over the Punjab atrocities as well as the *Khilafat* question. The Indian leaders reacted by launching the Non-cooperation movement in 1920. The methodology adopted by the Congress was not in accordance with Hasrat's point of view. Mahatma Gandhi and Hasrat Mohani differed in their views as regards the non-cooperation movement. The difference of opinion between Mahatma Gandhi and Hasrat Mohani relating to various significant political issues has been reviewed in detail in this chapter. Hasrat was imprisoned for the third time in 1922 and was inflicted with a lot of injustice and various false charges were put on him which has been discussed in detail.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **POLITICAL ROLE FROM 1924 – 1937**

This chapter reviews Hasrat Mohani's political role from 1924-1937. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 under the leadership of Lenin in Russia was a very significant historic event which put an end to the Czarist regime in Russia and established socialism which effected the whole world. The echo of this revolution was heard in India also. Hasrat Mohani was also attracted to the

communist ideology and several couplets related to socialist ideas composed by him have been used in this chapter to express the deep impression it had on his mind. The communist party was established in India in 1925 under the auspices of M.N. Roy and many more leaders of India, and Hasrat Mohani was one of these leaders who played a crucial role in organizing and forming of the Communist Party on Indian soil. The role of Hasrat Mohani in the various communist conferences has been elaborately discussed. The response to the Nehru-Report and his attitude towards civil disobedience Movement and his complete participation in it, the formation of the Azad Party by Hasrat Mohani and Maulana Azad Subhani, its aims and objectives and the publication of the '*Mustaqil*', a paper published by Hasrat in 1928 are other important aspects discussed in this chapter.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **ASSOCIATION WITH MUSLIM LEAGUE AND PAKISTAN MOVEMENTS**

Maulana Hasrat Mohani was deeply involved in the national political developments but simultaneously took keen interest in contemporary Muslim social life and politics of the country. It was because of this genuine Indo-Muslim political spirit that he always remained somehow associated with Muslim league since its very inception. His association with the Muslim League and his active participation in all its activities has been dealt with in this chapter. His complete participation in all the Pakistan movements also form an important theme of this chapter. His views of the lines upon which an independent India should be constituted has been discussed in detail. He aimed

at forming several Federated Republics which would be called the confederation of India and he laid down a general outline of the constitution of the Confederation. An attempt has been made in this chapter to analyse Hasrat's scheme and programme for an independent India.

## **CHAPTER VII**

### **HASRAT AFTER INDEPENDENCE**

After independence most of the Muslim League members made their way to the newly achieved Pakistan but Hasrat remained in India. The extracts from his personal diary have been utilized to illustrate his stand in this chapter. In 1946 he was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly of United Province on the ticket of the Muslim League. He also became the member of the constituent Assembly. This chapter aims to analyse his role as an active and responsible member of the constituent Assembly. His views are reflected in his speeches which have been quoted in this chapter to show his point of view on various significant issues discussed in the Assembly. Hasrat opposed Jawaharlal Nehru's report on the Principles of the Union Constitution the reasons of which have been enumerated systematically in this chapter. Hasrat's opinion on the adoption of the Preamble of the Constituent Assembly, the proceedings and various amendments related to it, his opinion on the Indian Constitution being Federal or Unitary and detail speeches related to it, his point of view on the issue of princely states, his last days are other important aspects covered by this chapter.

In the conclusion an attempt has been made to assess Hasrat's personality and political career. An attempt has also been made to trace his

links with the political struggle and freedom movement of the country. The impact of his political ideas on the freedom movement has also been explained. His efforts to make the Muslim community a politically conscious and educated community has also been assessed.

The thesis also comprises a bibliography of both published and unpublished contemporary, semi-contemporary and other works utilized in its preparation. Moreover, there are some appendices also through which an attempt has been made to bring to light the original material regarding the subject.

## **Chapter – I**

# ***Family Background: Early Life and Education***

## CHAPTER – I

### FAMILY BACKGROUND: EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

#### 1.1 Family Background

Syed Fazlul Hasan, popularly known as Maulana Hasrat Mohani, was born in 1881, in a renowned Syed family in Mohan, a small village in Unnao district of modern Uttar Pradesh. Hasrat Mohani occupies a significant place in the socio-political history of modern India, especially in the history of our national movement. His ancestral chronology dates from Imam Musa Raza, one of the descendant of Imam Husain<sup>1</sup>.

We get different types of traditional sayings about the origin of the town of 'Mohan'. According to one of them its name was derived from the name of Lakshman who accompanied his brother Rama, one of the greatest religious figures of Hindus, to his fourteen years '*Ban Bas*' (forest exile). Both of these and that Mohan is the combination of the word '*moh*' and '*an*' meaning love. According to another tradition the village of Mohan was founded by a Hindu hermit named Mohan and the place was named after him<sup>2</sup>. But these are only orally said. History does not record about it.

Hasrat's family has preserved a different tradition. According to the family records found in the forms of diaries, the town was founded by one of

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1 *Urdu-i Mualla*, Kanpur, Daftar Urdu-i Mualla, August September & October 1937, p. 2. His genealogical chain goes back to Imam Husain in this manner. Syed Fazlul Hasan (Hasrat Mohani), S/o Syed Azhar Husain, S/o Syed Mahrul Hasan S/o Syed Mazhar Hasan S/o Syed Ghulam Ali S/o Syed Mahmūd S/o Syed Shah Wajihuddin Mohammad, S/o Syed Mohammad Haneef S/o Syed Ghulam Ali S/o Syed Abdul Rauf, S/o Syed Jamal, S/o Syed Hafiz, S/o Syed Sadullah, S/o Syed Ghoon, S/o Syed Saidullah, S/o Syed Muntakhab, S/o Syed Mohammad Nishapuri, S/o Syed Mohammad, S/o Syed Ahmad, S/o Syed Husain, S/o Syed Abubakar Gahiya, S/o Syed Abdul Aziz, S/o Syed Ibrahim, S/o Syed Mahmood, S/o Syed Zaid, S/o Syed Abdullah, S/o Syed Yaqub, S/o Syed Ahmad, S/o Syed Mohammad, S/o Syed Ahmad, S/o Syed Abdul Fazal Musa, S/o Imam Mohammad Naqi, S/o Imam Musa Raza, S/o Imam Musa Raza Kazim, S/o Imam Jafar Sadiq, S/o Imam Baqar, S/o Imam Zainul Abdeen, S/o Imam Husain, S/o Ali Al-Murtaza husband of Fatima, D/o Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.).

2 . K.H. Qadiri, *Hasrat Mohani*, Delhi, Idarah-i Adbiyat-i Dilli, 1985, p. 3.

Hasrat's ancestors, named Syed Mahmūd. He was born in 1175 A.D. in a small village named Mohan, in the vicinity of Nishapur in Iran.<sup>3</sup> He was born in 1175 A.D. and died in 1241 A.D., Syed Mahmūd was a man of learning and lived comfortably until the raids of the Mongols began. The atrocities which they inflicted on the people forced him to leave his birthplace in 1245 A.D. forever and to migrate to the neighbouring land of India with his son Syed Muntakhab. No details of his journey to India, exists now but the hazards and perils involved in such a long journey may well be imagined, and it was four years later that they reached the place on the bank of the river *Sai* where the town of Mohan now stands. Syed Mahmūd founded this town, naming Mohan after his birthplace in Iran. The following Persian couplets, taken from a poem in the family register of Hasrat Mohani handed down from generation to generation give the dates of Syed Mahmūd's birth, death and migration. But it is not known that who composed these verses.

سید نیشاپور خوش ایمان  
 بود محمود نام او ذی شان  
 شش صد و هجده سن هجری  
 ظلم چنگیز خاں رساند به موہان  
 سنہ میلاد پنج صد و ہشتاد  
 شش صد و سی و ہشت خلد مکان  
 اولاد علی بود نیشاپوری محمود  
 در پان صد و ہفتاد آمد بہ وجود  
 در شش صد و یازدہ وطن را بگذاشت  
 ناچار شد از دست ہلاکو مردود  
 در شش صد پانزدہ بہ موہان رسید  
 در شش صد و سی و ہشت رحلت فرمود

3. See, V.K. Lukonin, *Political, Social and Administrative Institutions: Taxes and Trade*, (ed.) Ehsan Yarshater, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3(2), London, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p.705.

A Syed of Nishapur, who had strong faith; His name was Mahmūd who was a glorious person. It was in the year 618 Hijri/ (1221 A.D.); That the atrocities of Changez Khan reached Mohan (Iran). His year of birth was 580 A.H./ (1174 A.D.). He left for heaven in 638 A.H. /(1240-41 A.D.). Mahmūd of Nishapur was the descendent of Ali<sup>4</sup>; He was born in 570 A.H./1174 A.D. and left his home in 611 A.H./ (1214-15 A.D.); He was reduced to destitution at the hands of the accursed Hulagu. He reached Mohan in India 615 A.H./ (1218 A.D.); where he died on 638 A.H./ (1240-41 A.D.).<sup>5</sup>

The invasion of Mangols at Mohan (Iran) is said to have taken place in 618 A.H./ (1221 A.D.)<sup>6</sup>. But it appears from the above verses that Syed Mahmūd did not wait for this to happen. He left the town in 611 A.H./ (1214-15 A.D.) and founded the Indian Mohan in 615 A.H./ (1218 A.D.). This Mohan has been the centre of *Unani* medicine during the medieval period. Many prominent physicians (*atibba*), of the village were attached to the nobles and *Nawabs* of Awadh as well. It is for this reason, (presence of eminent physicians and scholars of medicine), that Mohan is also called a part of Greece. This reflects in one of the lines of Hasrat.<sup>7</sup>

یونان کو مدت سے تھی موہان سے نسبت  
شاید ہے مجھے بھی اسی عنوان سے نسبت

Greece had long been in association with Mohan;

Perhaps for this I too have an association with Greece<sup>8</sup>

4 . The fourth Pious Caliph, He was the son-in-law of the Prophet of Islam.

5 . K.H.Qidari, op.cit., pp. 4-5.

6 . The poet has used the name of Changez Khan simply as a symbol of the Mongols; historically speaking it was Hulagu and not he, who invaded Persia; hence the specific mention of Hulagu in the fifth verse.

7 . Abdush Shakur, *Hasrat Mohani*, Agra, Shah and Company, 1944, p. 7.

8 . Hasrat Mohani, *Kulliyat-i Hasrat Mohani*, (Reprint), Delhi, Nomani Publishing House, 1977, p 400



کیوں نہ ہوں اردو میں حسرت ہم نظیری کا نظیر  
ہے تعلق ہم کو آخر خاکِ نیشاپور سے

Why should Hasrat not be the example of Naziri in Urdu;  
Because I belong to the soil of Nisapur.<sup>9</sup>

Syed Mahmūd Nishapuri's tenth descendant Shah Wajihuddin Mohammad was born in 1108 A.H./ (1696-97 A.D.) and died on 17<sup>th</sup> Shawwal 1205 A.H./21<sup>st</sup> April, 1791 A.D. in Mohan. His *Urs* ceremony is held every year in Mohan on the same date. The one third of the ancestral property is in the form of endowment - *waqf*.<sup>10</sup> Shah Wajihuddin was the spiritual follower (*Khalifah*) of Syed Shah Rasool Numa Dehlivi who was a great Sufi.<sup>11</sup>

Hasrat's great-grandfather, Syed Mazhar Hasan was Shah Wajihuddin's third generation and used to live in the village Kunta in Khajuwa *tahsil* of the modern Fatehpur district. He was married in a reputed family which had recently embraced Islam. Subsequently Mazhar Hasan settled there.<sup>12</sup> But Hasrat's grandfather Syed Mahrul Hasan who got married in his own family, had two children, Syed Azhar Hasan and Mansurun Nisa.<sup>13</sup> They were married in their own family.<sup>14</sup>

Syed Azhar Hasan, married to Shahr Bano Begum, the daughter of Niyaz Hasan, had four sons viz., Syed Rūhul Hasan, Syed Fazlul Hasan Hasrat Mohani, Syed Kareem Hasan and Syed Mubīn Hasan, and three daughters Sulaimantun Nisa, Nasimatun Nisa, Mubaitun Nisa. Syed Kareem Hasan and

9 . Hasrat Mohani, op.cit., p. 428.

10 . *Waqfnama*, 3rd March 1932 *tahsil* Khajuwa, District Fatehpur Sub-Registrar Office, Register No. 1, vol. 100, pp. 228-29 in S.No. 112.

11 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Kanpur, Daftar Urdu-i Mualla, August September & October 1937, p. 2.

12 . Murtaza Husain Bilgrami, *Urdu Ke Gumnam Shair Uroohul Ameen Adeeb* in *Naya Daur*, Lucknow, April 1966.

13 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, op.cit., August, September & October 1937, p. 4.

14 . Ibid., p. 4.

Salimatun Nisa expired during the-life time of their father. Syed Azhar Husain's wife used to live with her children in her father's house whereas Syed Azhar Husain, in order to maintain his property, consisting of three villages, inherited from his grandmother, resided in the village Kunta<sup>15</sup>. From that property sufficient income was gained to run the family smoothly.<sup>16</sup>

Hasrat Mohani's original name is Syed Fazlul Hasan. 'Hasrat' is his pen-name (*takhallus or nom de plume*), by which he is now known popularly.<sup>17</sup>

He himself says:

عشق نے جب سے کہا حسرت مجھے  
کوئی بھی کہتا نہیں فضل الحسن

Since love began to ask me as Hasrat;

Nobody calls me Fazlul Hasan.<sup>18</sup>

According to Jamal Mian Firangi Mahli: "Emotional attachment with the birth place became the part of his name and he was well-received as Hasrat Mohani".<sup>19</sup>

As pointed out earlier, Hasrat Mohani lived with his mother in his big ancestral house in Mohan. Since the members of the other branches of the family also lived in the same house, there was a good atmosphere<sup>20</sup>. He was brought up with loving care. When he slightly grew young he was advised to read Nasim Dehlvi's *Diwan*.<sup>21</sup> Hasrat's family was devoted to religion. Every

15 . Abdush Shakur, op.cit., p. 9.

16 . Ahmar Lari, *Hasrat Mohani Hayat Aur Karnamein*, Gorakhpur, Adbistan, 1973, p.65.

17 . Ibid., p. 69.

18 . Hasrat Mohani, op.cit., p. 9.

19 . Ibid., p. 9.

20 . Rabia Begum, *Hasrat Ki Khangi Zindagi*, (ed.) Ale Ahmad Sooroor, *Urdu Adab*, Hasrat Number Aligarh, Anjuman Taraqqe Urdu (Hind), October to December, 1951, p. 93.

21 . Abdush Shakur, op.cit., p. 9.

member of the family used to get up, early in the morning for the prayer.<sup>22</sup> This religious atmosphere left deep impact on his life, and he strictly followed the Islamic teachings – prayers, fasting etc. Hasrat's home language was Awadhi. However, the language of elite classes and the medium of instruction in *Maktab*s and *Madrasah*s was Urdu. Hasrat wished that his family members should speak correct Urdu and if his brothers and sisters spoke incorrect Urdu, they were fined one paisa each. Because of this they spoke excellent Urdu.<sup>23</sup>

## 1.2 Elementary Education

Hasrat Mohani started his education in Miyan Ji Ghulam Ali's *Maktab* who was the grandfather of the famous modern Urdu poet Maulana Syed Afqar Mohani. This was a well-known Centre of Islamic theology. Books like *Sikandarnama*, *Bahar-i Danish*, *Akhlaq-i Mahsani* and *Insha-i Abul Fazal* were taught there.<sup>24</sup>

Among Hasrat's teachers, two of them were very famous in Mohan. One of them was Ghulam Ali and the other was Abdur Rahim, also known as Mian Ji Bulaqi. He was very learned and pious man. His personality made a deep impression on Hasrat and helped him to mould his character. Mian Ji Bulaqi was a devout Muslim and had a simple living. He always used hand-woven cloth. Once when his tailor used a foreign lining in his *shervani*. Mian Ji Bulaqi refused to wear until it was altered and the foreign cloth was removed.<sup>25</sup>

These teachers by their good moral character and way of simple living, set pattern for Hasrat to follow. His own family tradition was one of the

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22 . Rabia Begum, op.cit., p. 93.

23 . Ibid., p.93.

24 . Syed Afqar Mohani, *Hasrat Mohani*, (ed.) Abdullah Ali Baksh Qadiri, *Hasrat Ki yad Mein*, Allahabad, Majeedia Islamia College, 1952, pp. 23-24.

25 . K.H. Qadiri, op.cit.,pp. 10-11.

scholarships and religious devotion and the influence of family atmosphere, and of schooling combined to make a deep impression on his young mind. Religious belief took hold of him so firmly that throughout his eventful life nothing could ever shake him. It was undoubtedly on account of this firmness that instead of being an extremely revolutionary in his Political ideas and activities, he remained conservative even reactionary according to some interpretation in his religious beliefs.<sup>26</sup>

It was around 1890 A.D., that after receiving his elementary education, he was admitted to the Government Middle School of Mohan where he exposed himself as a brilliant student. He would read a lesson once or twice and committed it to memory. He was very mischievous too. Lakshmi Narayan, one of his teachers, used to say : “Fazlul Hasan you will become either a great man or a rouge”.<sup>27</sup> But his mischief was of an innocent kind.

While he was still studying at Mohan, he thought that it would be fun to appear at two examinations simultaneously. One was held at Mohan, while for the other he had to go to Jhaluthur, a nearby small village. Some one was required to accompany him there. When the result was announced Hasrat stood first in both examination in United Province.<sup>28</sup> Laxmi Narayan came to his mother and sending his respects to her told that her son was extremely intelligent, and she must tie a blue thread on his wrist to ward off the evil eye.<sup>29</sup>

Hasrat developed his deep interest in Urdu poetry even during his school days. He used to compose verses of very high standard in these days. He would show his poetic compositions to his teacher Lakshmi Narain. These verses

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26 . Ibid., p. 11.

27 . Ibid., pp. 11-12.

28 . Rabia Begum, op.cit., p. 99.

29 . K.H. Qadiri, op.cit., pp. 12-13.

would be so strikingly original that the teacher was always surprised. He always used to say that Fazlul Hasan would become one day a great poet.<sup>30</sup> An example of Hasrat's poetry during these early days may be cited here. He says:

موہان کی گلیاں ہیں کہ رسوائی کے مسکن ہیں  
جو شخص نظر آیا بدنام نظر آیا

The lanes of Mohan are the abode of disgrace;  
Every person is seen here as bad-named.<sup>31</sup>

As there was no high school in Mohan, he had to go to his nearby town Fatehpur Haswa where he took admission in Government High School. It was here that he also developed a taste for Persian poetry. Hasrat's command over the Persian language was excellent and his study of its classical poetry was remarkably deep and extensive. This was undoubtedly due to his close association with his teacher in Fatehpur, Maulana Amir Mohammad Khan.<sup>32</sup> Hasrat's stay in Fatehpur greatly influenced his subsequent development. His teachers, Maulana Zahurul Islam above-mentioned Maulana Amir Mohammad Khan were not only scholars of repute but also men of progressive taste in literature. Besides being accomplished poets, they were authorities on the classical literature in Arabic, and Persian. All these teachers were traditionalists in their approach and so they laid much stress on correct expression, purity of language and aptness in the use of metaphors and idioms rather than on the content of the poetry. Hasrat thus had a rigorous training, which taught him to use language correctly and effectively. This is evident in his own work later in

30 . Rabia Begum op.cit., p. 94.

31 . See Ahmar Lari, op.cit., p. 77.

32 . Ibid., p. 94.

life. Perhaps even more important however was the influence of Amir Mohammad Khan's literary taste.<sup>33</sup> In those days Hasrat also developed friendship with Maulana Syed Abdul Hashim Rusva, who too was a good poet. But after finishing his education the latter shifted to Hyderabad Deccan. Hasrat's loved him so deeply as well as his *Ghazals* that he sent his verses to him for correction.

Hasrat passed his Entrance examination in 1899 from Government High School Fatehpur with distinction.<sup>34</sup> He was married in 1901 when he was a student in Aligarh, to a relative whose name was Nishatun Nisa Begum, daughter of Syed Sabir Hasan Mohani. Nishatun Nisa Begum gave birth to a daughter but died on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1937. Later on Hasrat remarried in 1938. She was a widow named Habiba Begum. She also gave birth to a daughter Khalida Begum. His first daughter migrated to Pakistan and settled in Karachi after the partition of the Sub-Continent.<sup>35</sup>

### 1.3 Hasrat in M.A.O. College, Aligarh

In the Entrance Examination Hasrat had excellency in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Mathematics and when Dr. Sir Ziauddin of Aligarh saw his record in the Aligarh Institute Gazette, he summoned him to Aligarh<sup>36</sup>.

When Hasrat reached Aligarh for the first time, the Aligarians made him a laughing stock<sup>37</sup> but when his excellence was known to them they were silent.

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33 . Ibid., pp. 93-94.

34 . Ibid., p. 97.

35 . Ahmar Lari, op.cit., pp. 80-81.

36 . Abdush Shakur, op.cit., p. 12.

37 . Giving humorous name has been the tradition at Aligarh and even today it exists because of his appearance and manners with his trousers and *Pandan* . He called him by the title '*KHALA AMMA*'. This did not discourage him.

At Aligarh, Hasrat's teachers were Prof J. C. Chakravarti, Dr. Sir Ziauddin<sup>38</sup>, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan<sup>39</sup>, Nawab Muhsinul Mulk Moulvi Mehdi Ali Khan<sup>40</sup>, Nawab Mohd Ishaq Khan<sup>41</sup>, Nawab Viqarul Mulk<sup>42</sup> and Maulana Khalid Ahmad Israeli<sup>43</sup>.

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- 38 . Dr. Sir Ziauddin (1873-1948) graduated from M.A.O. College and proceeded to London for higher education was first Indian to be awarded the Sir Isaac Newton Scholarship; became Principal, M.A.O. College, 1919; was appointed Pro Vice Chancellor 1921; elected Vice Chancellor Aligarh Muslim University in 1935; again in 1941; a very brilliant mathematician and administrator. See Shah, S.Y., *Higher Education and Politics in Colonial India*; Delhi, Renaissance, 1996, pp. 206-262; Shan Muhammad, *Education and Politics from Sir Syed to the Present Day: The Aligarh School*, New Delhi, A.P.H. Publishing House, 2002, pp. 49-94; David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978.
- 39 . Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan (1867-1930) Admitted to the M.A.O. College 1878, joined Christ's College, Cambridge entered Inner Temple London for Bar-at Law, 1894; Trustee of the M.A.O. College, member of almost every committee; a very prominent educationist and administrator, member Council of India of the Secretary of State, 1917, represented Indian Muslims at the Paris Conference along with Agha Khan and Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Vice Chancellor A.M.U. 1925. See in this connection, Shan Muhammad, *Education and Politics from Sir Syed to the Present Day : The Aligarh School*, New Delhi, A.P.H. Publishing House, 2002, pp. 20-44.
- 40 . Nawab Mohsinul Mulk Bahadur Syed Mehdi Ali Khan (1837-1907). His eyes in 1837 in poverty and the early experiences of misery was the source of his lifelong philanthropy. He occupies a very important position in the Aligarh Movement. His affection for Sir Syed was immense. In him Syed got the staunchest supporter of the movement. Not only his help in his political mission but he assisted him in the educational movement also. He was a regular contributor to the *Tahzeeb-ul Akhlaq* and he won him a very important position in the leadership of the movement. But it was only after Sir Syed's death, when the helpless M.A.O. College was passing through a great period of crisis, that his qualities of leadership came to the forefront and his importance was realized by all. See for his details, M.S. Jain, *The Aligarh Movement Its Origin and Development 1858-1906*, Agra, Shri Ram Mehra & Co. 1965. Shan Muhammad, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan – A Political Biography*, Meerut, Meenakshi Prakashan, 1969, pp. 92-95; Also see Shan Muhammad (ed.), *The Aligarh Movement Basic Document 1864-1898*, vol. I, II, III, Meerut, Meenakshi Parkashan, 1978; Shan Muhammad, *Successors of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan Their Role in the Growth of Muslim Political Consciousness*, Delhi, Idarah-i Adbiyat-i Delli, 1981; Minto Private Papers in National Archives of India, New Delhi.
- 41 . Nawab Mohd. Ishaq Khan was son of Nawab Mustafa Khan Shefta, *Raees* of Jahagirabad. His father appointed Altaf Husain Hali as his tutor. He was district and session judge at Muradabad, when he was elected Secretary of M.A.O. Trustees in the last week of January 1913 till death 1918.
- 42 . Viqarul Mulk (1841-1917). He was son of Munshi Fazl Husain of Amroha, and was born in 1841. His family had a good social standing as his ancestors had served the Royal Mughal family. He has his early education in Amroha and passed the Entrance examination in 1859. He joined the Roorkee Engineering College but left without graduating. He served as a clerk in the various towns of United Provinces till 1865 and then served as *Serishtadar* at Badaun and Aligarh. He was also associated with Aligarh Movement of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He put forward the scheme for the formation of a Muslim political association; member, Simla Deputation, and Chairman, League's foundation session at Dhaka; Secretary of M.A.O. College Trustees, 1907-1913. He was also associated with Muslim University Movement. See Shan Muhammad, *Successors of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan: Their Role in the Growth of Muslim Political Consciousness*, Delhi, Idarah-i Adbiyat-i Dilli, 1981.
- 43 . Aslam Hindi, *Razdan-i Hayat*, Kanpur, 1975, p. 12.

When Hasrat reached Aligarh in 1899, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan<sup>44</sup> had died a year ago. His death had shaken the College to its very foundation.<sup>45</sup> Sir Syed left no money of his own not even enough for his funeral expenses and the finance of M.A.O. College too were in bad shape. It was heavily in debt, and some of its employee's salaries were overdue. Construction work on the building had been suspended for years. Sir Syed had been succeeded by his son Syed Mahmūd as the Secretary of M.A.O. College but he had to resign after ten months. The same year Nawab Mohsinul Mulk became Secretary of M.A.O. College. He paid off all the debts and brought the incomplete building to its completion. Nawab Mohsinul Mulk has another achievement to his credit. He invited the participation of *Ulama and Mashaikhs* in the functions and meetings of the College. He removed the barriers between the old fashioned and modern section of the Muslims.<sup>46</sup>

The graduates of the College had to study four years course. First two years course was known as 'inter'. The first year examination was conducted by College authorities, after the result, students were promoted to the second

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44 . Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), one of the architect of modern India was born on October 17, 1817 in Delhi and started his career as a Civil servant. The 1857 revolt was one of the hunting points of Syed Ahmed's life. He clearly foresaw the imperative need for the Muslims to acquire proficiency in English language and modern sciences, if the community were to maintain its social and political identity, particularly in North India. He had began to prepare the road map for the formation of a Muslim University by starting various schools. He instituted scientific society in 1863 to create a scientific temperament among the Muslims and to make the Western knowledge available to Indians in their own language. In 1875, Sir Syed founded the *Madrsat-ul Uloom* in Aligarh and patterned the M.A.O. College after Oxford and Cambridge Universities that he visited on a trip in 1869. His objective was to build a College in tune with the British education system but without compromising its Islamic values. Few persons are so lavishly endowed by nature as was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. See details in this connection Shan Muhammad, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan : A Political Biography*, Meerut, Meenakshi Prakashan, 1969.

45 . Syed Tufail Ahmad Manglori, *Musalmanon Ka Rooshan Mustaqbil*, (Reprint), Lahore, Himad-ul Kutbi, n.d. p. 223.

46 . Ibid., p. 233.



year course. Second year examination was conducted by the University and students who passed this examination were admitted to the graduation course of two years. The final examination was held by Allahabad University to which M.A.O. College was affiliated.<sup>47</sup> In M.A.O. College he was considered a brilliant, sober, and devoted student. By now he had established himself not only as a good poet, but also as a commendable debater in Urdu and English.<sup>48</sup>

The number of students in School and College was three hundred twenty three, of which two hundred twenty nine were boarders. Forty students were Hindus. Hasrat's contemporaries in Aligarh were Sajjad Haidar Yaldaram, who later emerged as renowned Urdu writer and critic, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Abdul Qadir and Mohammad Hayat Gwaliari both later become Professors, Iqbal Suhail Azami etc. Theodore Beck<sup>49</sup> was the Principal at M.A.O. College at that time but he died some days after Hasrat's admission. Theodore Beck was so much popular among the teachers and students that every one felt deep shock over his death. Though a fresher, Hasrat too was very grieved on the sad demise of the Principal of his College. Expressing his deep sense of sorrow for the death of Theodore Beck, Hasrat composed following verses:

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47 . K.H. Qadiri, op.cit., p. 68.

48 . Ibid., p. 69.

49 . Theodore Beck (1859-1899). Graduated from Cambridge, was President of the Union Debating Society; appointed Principal, M.A.O. College in August 1883 at the age of 24, worked with Sir Syed for the improvement of the College and the Muslim Community. See details, Shan Muhammad *Education and Politics from Sir Syed to the Present Day : The Aligarh School*, New Delhi, A.P.H. Publishing House, 2002, pp. 45-48; David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978.

یا الہی کچھ نہیں کھلتا یہ کیا اسرار ہے  
 ایسی بزمِ عیش میں کیوں رنج کا اظہار ہے  
 اک طرف جوشِ مسرت سے خوشی کی ہے نمود  
 اک طرف پر آپ اپنی چشمِ دریا بار ہے  
 ہاں مگر مرحوم بیگ کے مرگ بے ہنگام سے  
 رنج و غم کا ہر بشر کی شکل سے اظہار ہے  
 ساقی مے خانہ کالج کے جامِ فیض سے  
 آج تک ہر میکشِ علم و ہنر سرشار ہے  
 یونین پر جو عنایت خاص تھی مرحوم کی  
 اس کا شاہد انجمن کا ہر درو دیوار ہے  
 ایسے محسن کو یکا یک کر دیا ہم سے جدا  
 دیکھنا کیسا زمانہ برسرِ پیکار ہے  
 بیک کے مرجانے سے ویران جلسہ ہو گیا  
 خاک میں ارماں ملے خونِ تمنا ہو گیا

O'God! nothing is revealed as to what the secret is;

As to why there is expression of sorrow in such pleasure gathering.

On one hand there is strong expression of gladness;

On the other, every one's eyes are full of tears.

But surely on account of sad demise of Mr. Beck;

Every one's face reveals sorrow and grief.

It is because of the generosity of the Head of the College;

That every seeker of arts and knowledge feels overflowing.

What a special favour was shown by our deceased to the Union;

Every wall and door of the Anjuman is its witness.

Such a great well wisher has disappeared from us;

See! The time is great fighter with us.

Our gathering has been deserted by the death of Beck;

Our desires were shattered and killed.<sup>50</sup>

Theodore Beck was succeeded by Morison<sup>51</sup> who took over as the Principal of the M.A.O. College in October, 1899. The management, teachers and students held him very esteemly. Hasrat also expressed his kind feelings on this happy occasion in this verified form.

ہم تو سمجھے تھے کہ جلسہ اپنا ویراں ہو گیا  
 خوبی قسمت سے لیکن لطفِ یزداں ہو گیا  
 افسرِ اعلیٰ ہوئے مارین ذی علم و شاں  
 سن کے یہ جامے سے باہر ہر مسلمان ہو گیا  
 آپ کا اسلام پر احسان سارے دیکھ کر  
 ہر مسلمان خود بخود ممنونِ احساں ہو گیا  
 موسمِ گل آ گیا وقتِ خزاں جاتا رہا  
 شکر ہے سر سبز پھر اپنا گلستاں ہو گیا  
 آپ کی آمد نے کیا کام مسیحا کیا  
 پھر سے زندہ مجمعِ امید دارماں ہو گیا  
 گلشنِ اسلام میں بادِ ترقی چل گئی  
 غنچہ پڑمردہ امید خنداں ہو گیا  
 اے خوشا تقدیری نازم بہ تختِ یونین  
 جلوہ گر شد زانکہ مارین بہ تختِ یونین

I was in the impression (after the death of Beck) our College will become a desert;

But due to good fortune their occurred Divine Mercy.

Great scholar Morison have become the highest officer;

Hearing this good news every Muslim has become emotional.

51. Morison (1863-1936) succeeded Theodore Beck as Principal, M.A.O. College, Aligarh wanted Muslims to be aloof from political agitation; disfavoured the formation of a political organization but wanted small council to discuss political issues; was sympathetic with Muslims aspirations and visited M.A.O. College several times even when he had left it. See in this connection Shan Muhammad, *Education and Politics from Sir Syed to the Present Day: The Aligarh School*, New Delhi, A.P.H. Publishing House, 2002, pp. 45-48; Kakorwi, Safi Ahmad, (ed.), *Morison's History of the M.A.O. College Aligarh*, Aligarh, Sir Syed Academy, Aligarh Muslim University, 1988.

Seeing his indebtedness on Islam and Muslims;

Every Muslim feels himself indebted.

Spring season has come, autumn has gone;

Thanks to God that our garden has become fresh.

Your arrival has really done the work of Jesus;

The group of candidates has once again revived.

Once again the breeze of development as started to flow;

The deserted garden as once gain become glad and cheerful.

I am so much lucky that I pride on my (Student's Union)

Because Morison is gracing it as the chief pattern.<sup>52</sup>

Though a poet by-birth, Hasrat was always brilliant in studies. At the same time he also showed interest in the residential life of the College. He was made the food monitor<sup>53</sup> and, this won him acclamation. He also joined the Duty Society<sup>54</sup> which collected funds for the College and its poor boys in different districts during summer vacations. In this connection he once led a delegation for Awadh on 19 May 1901<sup>55</sup> to Lucknow via Shahjahanpur. The delegation reached Lucknow on 21 May and started collecting fund on the same day.<sup>56</sup> The delegation also toured to Sandila, Hardoi, and Bilgram and returned to Aligarh with the money they had collected.<sup>57</sup>

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52 . *M.A.O. College Magazine*, vol. VIII, No. 3 & 4, February 1900, Aligarh, pp. 5-6.

53 . *M.A.O. College Magazine*, vol. X, No. 3, March 1902, Aligarh, p. 24.

54 . Duty Society provided scholarship to needy and poor students.

55 . *M.A.O. College Magazine*, vol. X, No. 67, October to December 1901, Aligarh, pp. 23-28.

56 . First two days small fund was collected, and the morale of the delegates was decreasing. The people of Lucknow did not know enough about the College, when members of the delegates communicated information and objective of the College to the people of Lucknow. At Lucknow the delegation was supported by Mr Hamid Ali Khan, Bar-at Law who helped the students in their mission.

57 . Their intention was to collect Rs. 10 lakh for Muslim University, a movement which had started just after the death of Sir Syed .The efforts made by Mohani in this collection is great in which he explained the mission of Sir Syed and its usefulness..

Fazlul Hasan's literary activities in M.A.O. College were well known. Syed Sajjad Haidar Yaldaram started a literary society '*Anjuman-i Urdu-i Mualla*' in May 1900 A.D. Hasrat too very actively participated in it. After two years he was appointed its Secretary (*Nazim*) and in this capacity he published its rules and regulations.<sup>58</sup> The main objective of the Anjuman was the promotion of Urdu language.<sup>59</sup> As the *Nazim* of the *Ajuman-i Urdu-i Mualla*, Hasrat performed his duties with great responsibility. During this period he organized a *mushaira* under its banner in which eminent poets were invited from all over the country. The *mushaira* was held in the Strachey Hall. Renowned literary figures like Mir Murtaajah, Amanullah Taslim, Altaf Husain Hali etc. participated in it. That *mushaira* was *Tarhi*.<sup>60</sup> Hasrat also composed a *Ghazal*. The first verse of which is as follows:

اضطراب عاشقی پھر کار فرماں ہو گیا  
صبر میرا ناشکیبائی سراپا ہو گیا

My restless love has once again become active;  
My passions has turned into my unpatient body.<sup>61</sup>

This *mushaira* was a great success by all standards. However, some of the old students, having pro-British feeling, lodged their dissatisfaction about it to the

58 . Hasrat Mohani's article *Anjuman-i Urdu-i Mualla* in *M.A.O. College Magazine*, vol. V, No. 4, April 1902, Aligarh, p. 15.

59 . That those instructed in the society should send their articles, letters books to its editor. They were not supposed to accept any donation. The *Anjuman* would hold two meetings in a month. Papers would be read and the presenters would have a right to reserve their papers. Its constitution lays the following things: (1) This *Anjuman* will be named as *Anjuman-i Urdu-i Mualla* (2) The objective of this *Anjuman* is to promote Urdu for the following this will be done. (a) To promote people to write books, (b) To translate good books, (c) To write literary and critical essays, (d) To establish an Urdu library etc. See *M.A.O. College Magazine*, vol. V, No. 4, April 1902, Aligarh, pp. 15-16.

60 . *Tarhi* means all the poets were required to write *Ghazal* on a given pattern of rhyming ending on a given matter.

61 . Hasrat Mohani, op.cit., p. 102.

Principal, Theodore Morison. Majnun Gorakhpuri writes: “We must remember that it was the prime time of British Imperialism. Morison was the Principal of the College and Nawab Mohsinul Mulk was the Secretary. The College authorities were under the influence of the British Government, and they would not like to listen to any anti-British line. Students who did not like Hasrat’s independent temperament reported to Mr. Morison that very low standard of morality was represented at the *mushaira*”.<sup>62</sup>

Hasrat believed that the old students who complained to Morison were Chaudhari Kushi Mohd Khan Nazir. Next day the Principal Morison sent for Hasrat and demanded explanation from him. Shedding light on the incident Syed Sajjad Haider Yaldaram writes in his article *Khafi Khan* published in December 1908 in the Urdu monthly *Zamana*, Kanpur : “Next day at the end of lesson Theodore Morison got hold of Hasrat. As an eagle seizes a small sparrow and disappears into the heights of the sky in the twinkling of an eye so Mr Morison wearing an appearance of rage (that was too unnatural to be true) seized poor Fazlul and took him speedily into his office. All the on lookers were spell bound. And then iron record, ‘Are there two standards of good and evil? ‘Yes’ our standard is different from yours’ was the humble reply by Hasrat. But Morison dismissed this as nonsense and said that some of the old students had made a report to him on the matter”.<sup>63</sup>

According to Majnun Gorakhpuri “After this he at once called a special meeting of the Board of Management and proposed that Hasrat should be

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62 . Majnun Gorakhpuri, *Hasrat Mohani*, (ed) Ale Ahmad Sooroor, *Urdu Adab*, Hasrat Number, Aligarh, Anjuman Taraqee Urdu (Hind), October 1951, p. 80.

63 . Syed Sajjad Haider Yaldaran, *Khafi Khan*, (ed.) Daya Narain Nigam, *Zamana*, Kanpur, Daftar Zamana, December 1908, pp. 194-195.

expelled from the College .No one had the courage to oppose Morison's suggestion. But Hasrat's influence too was not negligible. Nawab Mohsinul Mulk himself had a great respect and regard for Hasrat's ability and scholarship .So the proposal was amended, and it was decided to expel Hasrat, but nevertheless he was allowed to appear in the examination. This amendment itself shows the influence of Hasrat's personality and his popularity. It would not be out of place to mention here that Hasrat held all the honours that the College could bestow upon a good student. He was Secretary of the *Anjuman-i Urdu-i Mualla*, and at the same time Secretary of the Union also. He was also 'Food Monitor' and had exhibited ,such a sense of honesty and responsibility that everybody acknowledged it".<sup>64</sup>

There can hardly be any doubt that it was not the *mushaira* incident alone that lay behind Hasrat's expulsion. There were other factors at work in the background. Morison was not content merely to expel Hasrat. His influence was so widespread that Morison evidently considered it necessary to address all the students of the College .His address was printed in the Aligarh Monthly and this surely means that it was a carefully considered speech on a theme which he felt to be of exceptional importance .The address is worth quoting extensively as it throws light on Hasrat's position and on the reaction of the British.

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64 . Majnum Gorakhpuri, op.cit., p. 81.

## **Chapter – II**

### ***Political Activities 1903 to 1910***



## CHAPTER – II

### POLITICAL ACTIVITIES 1903 TO 1910

#### 2.1 Publication of *Urdu-i Mualla*

After completing his education, Hasrat Mohani, like several other students of the M.A.O. College, could get job in the civil administration on the recommendation of the Principal of the College, But this was not possible for Hasrat Mohani, as he was not ready to change his attitude towards English. He saw a wide field of practical life because of his strained relation with the M.A.O. College authorities. He started his career as journalist by publishing an Urdu monthly entitled *Urdu-i Mualla* from Aligarh. Its first issue appeared in July 1903.<sup>1</sup> Through it, he tried his best to change the Muslim political views prevailing at that time in Indian Sub-Continent. Their majority considered Indian National Congress as opposed to the political cause of the Muslims. Men of Aligarh, therefore, opposed *Urdu-i Mualla*. Students of the M.A.O. College were instructed not to purchase it<sup>2</sup>. According to Arif Hasvi<sup>3</sup>, the first biographer of Hasrat Mohani, says that even some of the leaders who later became leading freedom fighters also did not leave any stone unturned. Maulana Shaukat Ali called Hasrat Mohani a *Dewana Mulla* and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad sarcastically called him a *Swadeshi Quli*.<sup>4</sup>

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1. When he started his journal there were many important journal like *Makhzan* of Shaikh Abdul Qadir from Lahore, *Khazang-i Nazar*, of Nawbat Rai Nazar from Lucknow but inspite of these reputed journals *Urdu-i Mualla* became popular among the Urdu knowing world especially in North India.
  2. Naima Begum, *Hasrat Ki Kahani Naima Ki Zabani* (Reprint), Maulana Hasrat Memorial Library and Trust, 1990, p. 19.
  3. Arif Hasvi (1888-1936). He started his career as a journalist. He come in politics and become a prominent leader of Delhi Congress Committee. He was elected General Secretary, Khilafat Committee. See Arif Hasvi, *Halat-i Hasrat* (Reprint) Karachi, Maulana Hasrat Mohani Memorial Library and Trust, 1993.
  4. Arif Hasvi, *Halat-i Hasrat*, (Reprint), Karachi, Maulana Hasrat Mohani Memorial Library and Trust, 1993, p. 35.

In the first issue of *Urdu-i Mualla* Qazi Talammuz Husain wrote an article entitled 'Political Science'. This article was on the Philosophy of Politics, but the readers thought that there might have been some articles on the politics on the country. It is from the files of *Urdu-i Mualla* that we can derive a fairly clear picture of Hasrat's stand on the political issues of those years. In September 1904 he wrote his first article entitled 'The Muslims the Indian National Congress and Political Agitation' which was concluded with the hope that the Muslims would support the Congress soon. Hasrat wrote :

"It is expected that the Muslims of North India like the educated Muslims of Bombay and Madras, will favour the Congress publicly. They did not know the truth and soon would come to know it with the policies of Congress became hitherto were reluctant to express their views publicly.

"Those who consider the Congress injurious to the interests of the Muslims, have no arguments for this except that they were the followers of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. If this issue is discussed with them they would certainly not listen and say "you do not know about these things only we know all these, since we have seen Sir Syed's eyes".<sup>5</sup>

Arguing with them for the Congress he said, "I am a matured politician. We agree with him that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was a prominent leader and did a lot for the welfare of the Muslims during his time. If he stopped the Muslims from joining the Congress, it was because of the revolt of 1857 as the Government of India was not happy with them and considered the Muslims as the real culprit of this rebellion. If Sir Syed Ahmad Khan tried to concentrate

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5 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Matab'i, September, 1904, p. 7.

all energies of the Muslims for higher education only, he was right. If he guided uneducated Muslims to support the British Government, he was right, though to some extent”.<sup>6</sup>

Giving the reasons of the Muslims, joining the Indian National Movement, Hasrat says in one of his articles that it was not necessary for them in Sir Syed's time because of the lack of education. But now the situation is different. A considerable part of the Muslims of India has benefitted from the Modern education. Though, as a whole, they are still met on the equal footing with them in this regard, yet it does not mean that even a single person among the Muslims is not capable of entering into politics. Hardly any one can say that still Muslims are not capable of participating into politics. He believed that the aloofness of Muslims from the affairs of the country was not a reality, rather it is fabricated. He questioned as to why a graduate of other community interfered into the country's politics while the Muslim graduate was totally aloof from it. He asked reasons why that the Parsis, Marathas, and Bengalis were producing orators, authors, editors and politicians. But the Muslim's society is deprived of such enlightened elements. He would say that the main reason of this deprivation was that the Muslim students were treated very harshly and always a sort of discouragement was created in them. Their ideas and sentiments were killed. According to him, the behaviour of the authorities

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6 . Ibid., p. 8. It may be mentioned here that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also had the same view about Sir Syed attitude towards the Indian National Congress. To quote Nehru: "Sir Syed was not opposed to National Congress because of its being a predominantly Hindu organization but he opposed it because he thought it was politically too aggressive (though it was mild enough in those days), and he wanted British help and co-operation for his educational movement. He tried to show that Muslims as a whole did not revolt during the mutiny and that many had remained loyal to the British power. See Nehru, Jawaharlal, *The Discovery of India*, Fifth Impression, New Delhi, Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1986, p. 345.

of the M.A.O. College towards the students was totally against the policy of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

He was frightened as to what would happen to those Muslim leaders on the Day of Judgement who were to make the Muslims the dead-hearted and flatterers of the Government.<sup>7</sup>

Hasrat further writes in the same article that the opponents of the Indian National Congress generally say that Muslims are educationally very backward and it is very difficult for them to compete Hindus in the field of politics. He they should concentrate all their efforts on education.<sup>8</sup> Rejecting this view of the supporters of British Government, Hasrat Mohani quotes Shaikh Abdullah<sup>9</sup>, one of the famous dignitaries of the M.A.O. College and a responsible man of Aligarh, whose article 'The Muslims and Politics' had been published in *Urdu-i Mualla* in the issue of February, 1904. According to Shaikh Abdullah: "No nations (community) can achieve progress and prosperity until it improves its social and political condition alongwith the education. If any one feels that we will participate in the politics only after fully acquiring education is wrong, it is like the student who studies Persian upto the age of twenty, then English upto thirty and then Arabic upto the age of forty. And then he starts the subjects like

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7. *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Matab'i, September 1904, pp. 8-9.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

9. Shaikh Abdullah (1874-1965). He was born in a village in the Poonch district of Kashmir. After passing the matriculation Examination in 1891 from Lahore, he proceeded to Aligarh for higher education while at Aligarh he attracted the attention of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who was always very kind to him. After taking the degrees of B.A. and LL.B. He was made Secretary of the Women's section of the Muslim Educational Conference in 1902. He succeeded in creating an awakening among the people regarding women's education. See for his details, S.P. Sen (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. I, Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, 1972, pp. 6-8; Nagendra Kr. Singh (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Muslim Biography*, vol. I, New Delhi, A.P.H. Publishing House, 2001, pp. 148-149; Robinson Francis, *Separatism among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslim (1860-1923)*, (Reprint), New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, 2008; Rafiq Zakaria, *Rise and Muslims in Indian Politics*, Second edition, Bombay, Somaiya Publications, 1971.

Physics and Philosophy. This type of student can not get real education and he will never be called educated. Every time he will be called a student. He will die as student because he had spent all his time in acquiring the education only. How can he acquire the knowledge of other subjects in old age”.<sup>10</sup>

Therefore, rejecting the views of his opponents, Hasrat suggested that educated young Muslims to take active part into politics. Hasrat further writes that some people are of the view that if Muslims join the Congress, they would be its weak part and as such their interest would suffer. He discarded this view also. He argues that the (political) power of any group does not depend merely on their numbers. We must keep in mind that strength of the Parsis (Zoroastrians) in the Congress, although their number in the total population of India is very less. Therefore, advising the Muslims to join the Congress, he says that undoubtedly for some times in the beginning their voices in the Congress would be weak but it will soon become strong. If we have to achieve the goal, we must take initiative, and there is no other way. He asks the Muslims that by joining the Congress, we should learn for some time the method of its and its senior leaders’ working. We should encourage our orators and the persons who were well aware of politics to take interest in every matter of the country to make their voice strong in the Congress. Whatever the work of political agitation has been done by the Congress, it is always covered as news by newspapers. Of course, the Congress has become the target of the activities of the newspapers.<sup>11</sup> He says that the annual session of the Congress is to be held this year in Bombay with great gesture and with God’s grace it

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10 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Matab’i, September 1904, p. 13.

11 . *Ibid.*, p. 14.

will take place next year in the United Provinces. Hasrat is very much hopeful that the educated Muslim youths will severely participate in its large number of the Muslims of Bombay and Madras.<sup>12</sup>

Hasrat joined the Congress and attended its session in 1904. Syed Sulaiman Nadvi<sup>13</sup> says that *Urdu-i Mualla* was the first to wake up the Muslims. At a time when Muslims were reluctant to join politics, this Aligarh young graduate joined the Congress and attended its annual session at Bombay in 1904 as delegate. He continued his policy of attending the Congress session till its Surat session when, he left it under the leadership of Tilak.<sup>14</sup>

## 2.2 Partition of Bengal

The Viceroy Lord Curzon<sup>15</sup> had opened the question and linked communal urgency with administrative necessity, made up his mind to divide the Province into Muslim Bengal and Hindu Bengal, the eastern part had Muslim majority and the western part a Hindu majority.<sup>16</sup> The partition scheme emerged unofficially from official secrecy in 1903, Syed Raza Wasti says –

“The partition of Bengal announced on 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1903 and carried out on 16<sup>th</sup> October 1905 had given a great shock to the Congress leaders and stirred up a violent nationalism in Bengal. The Congress considered it a calculated move against national unity and solidarity. It was thought a most

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12 . Ibid., p. 14.

13 . A renowned scholar of Islamic sciences, history and literature, he (1884-1953) also took deep interest and even participated to some extent in India's political activities and struggle for freedom. He was member of the Congress Working Committee in 1921 and got himself involved in the activities of the All India Khilafat Committee which was presided over by him in the same year.

14 . See Nadvi, Syed Sulaiman, *Hasrat Ki Siyasi Zindagi*, (ed.) Niyaz Fatehpur, Nigar: *Hasrat Number*, January-February 1952, Karachi, p. 112.

15 . Lord Curzon (1859-1925) had eventful tenure as Viceroy (1899-1905), it was to mark the end of an epoch in British rule in India.

16 . Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims : A Political History (1858-1947)*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1959, p. 91.

arbitrary and unsympathetic evidence of irresponsible and autocratic statesmanship".<sup>17</sup>

The *Statesman* of Calcutta which gave a clear analysis of the Government's intention behind the division of Bengal, wrote that it was to -

- (i) Break the collective power of the Bengalis.
- (ii) Over throw the political superiority of Calcutta.
- (iii) Increase the power of the Muslims in East Bengal which, it is hoped, will contain the fast rising power of the educated Hindus.<sup>18</sup>

How strong was the Hindu reaction to this can be gauged from the account of Lajpat Rai, one of the extremist leaders of the Congress.

"It was on the 16<sup>th</sup> October 1905 that the old Province of Bengal was partitioned by Lord Curzon. On that day immense number of people in the two divisions of the partitioned province abstained from lighting their kitchen fire, went about bare footed, performed ceremonial baths in rivers or sacred *rakhis* a piece of silk or cotton thread, as a symbol of fraternal or national unity. On the 17<sup>th</sup> August, 1905, the leaders of Bengal, in public meeting assembled, in Calcutta Town Hall, under the presidency of Maharaja Mahindra Chandra Nundy of Cassim Bazar, and declared a general boycott of British goods as a practical protest against the proposed partition".<sup>19</sup>

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17. Syed Raza Wasti, *Lord Minto and The National Movement 1905-1910*, London, Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 26.

18. Syed Tufail Ahmad Manglari, *Musalmanon Ka Roshan Mustaqbil*, Lahore, Hlmad-ul Kutbi, p. 344.

19. Cf. Report of the Indian National Congress 1904, Presidential address quoted in K.H. Qadiri, *op.cit.*, p. 108.

### 2.3 Swadeshi Movement

The beginning of twentieth century witnessed drastic changes and new trends in political environment in the Indian subcontinent. The Congress, which had so far adopted liberal and loyal attitude towards the British Government by demanding constitutional reforms and representation of Indians in civil as well as other Government service was moving towards extremism. It now raised its voice for Swaraj. The Self-Government resolution was passed in this regard in its Calcutta Session of 1906 held under the Presidentship of moderate leader Dada Bhai Naoroji.<sup>20</sup> It was after the Partition of Bengal that in order to weaken the Government and awaken the people to the usefulness of Swadeshi manufactured commodities, the Congress launched a movement known as the 'Swadeshi movement' throughout the country. Hasrat Mohani enthusiastically supported this Swadeshi movement. It was during his school days that one of his teachers who was strict supporter of Khadi had created great love in him for the Swadeshi things. In 1905 he attended the All-India Industrial Conference held at Banaras. Since then he was a staunch supporter of the movement<sup>21</sup>. A number of articles were published in his *Urdu-i Mulla* in this regard. In these articles the people of the country were asked to boycott the British items and use home made commodities which was the most effective weapon for injuring British interest in India. As the Swadeshi movement was getting popularity among the majority community, Hasrat wanted Muslims of the country to realize the significance of the boycott movements and participate whole heartedly in these anti-British activities. In an article 'Swadeshi movement and

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20 . A.M. Zaidi, *INC the Glorious Tradition*, vol. I: 1885-1920, New Delhi, Indian Institute of Applied Political Research, 1987, p. 278.

21 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Matab'i, March & April 1906, pp. 83-86



Hasrat Mohani' Arif Hasvi writes: "Maulana Hasrat was the ardent supporter of the Swadeshi movement from its beginning. He always tried his best to propagate this movement and considered the Swadeshi movement as the sole means for its economic development. With such ideas he made strenuous efforts to popularize it among all Indians. His first step was to boycott the imported goods. He wrote articles in his paper and concentrated all his energies for the propagation of this movement. He was more successful among the Muslims who were influenced by his writings and were with him. As a result, a sizeable number of people left the use of foreign goods. However, Hasrat was not satisfied with what he was doing. He wanted to do something more. He, therefore, started a 'Swadeshi Store' in Russel Ganj locality of Aligarh and provided in it all sorts of Indian manufactured good used in day-to-day life".<sup>22</sup>

He belonged to the extremist group of the Congress and as such opposed views of the moderates regarding the Swadeshi movement. In this connection he wrote in the *Urdu-i Mualla* an article entitled *Fariq-i Narm ki b'az ghalat fahmiyan* (Misunderstandings of Moderates group) No. 1 in which he made it clear that the spirit nationalism and the complete independence was created in the hearts and minds of the Indian youths, the reality of the old ideas of the moderate group was like an old calendar in the eyes of wiseman. By saying so, he did not at all want to insult the elders. He fully acknowledged their contribution. According to him, nobody could deny their contribution. He paid complete respect to them. But at the same time he was of the view that the political ideas showed by their elders were not applicable in those (Hasrat's) time. It will be our political deficiency to accept our elders' economic and

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22 . Arif Hasvi, op.cit., pp. 52-53.

political ideas without any critical analysis. These may not be useful in the changed circumstances. He said that he had been watching the working of the moderates for the last twenty five years and he could courageously say that these views were not in accordance with the right path.

Motilal Nehru, the moderate leader of the Congress, did not agree with Hasrat Mohani. He said that the British are not against the Swadeshi and even Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, supported the Swadeshi movement and promised all sorts of help. Hasrat totally rejected this idea by saying that it was clear stupidity to think that British will prefer indigenous Indian commodities to the things prepared in their country. As they were themselves manufacturing things how can they support indigenous movement. He thus did not agree with the ideas of Pandit Motilal Nehru that Curzon had promised all support to the Swadeshi movement. He called all such ideas as 'absurd'.<sup>23</sup>

Swadeshi and Boycott movement had mixed two thing in one. Swadeshi meant that the people would manufacture their own commodities for the use of their country-men. Hasrat discarded this idea of the moderates that the Government would extend its support to this part of the movement and would not welcome the boycott of British commodities as it would cripple their own industries which they would not tolerate. Any opposition to British manufactured goods would prove Indians seditious and the Government would take strongest action against such movements. He was strongly of the opinion that British would never tolerate even the Swadeshi movement and we should never even imagine some of sort of sympathy on their part in this regard.<sup>24</sup>

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23 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Matab'i, August 1907, p. 17.

24 . *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

Hasrat's views proved correct when Sir Roper Bettridge gave this statement :  
 "No English men who loves England will ever wish that Indians should succeed in the Swadeshi movement because Swadeshi means that English (British) industries should be destroyed, that artisans of England and Scotland will suffer starvation and the whole British trade be altogether ruined".<sup>25</sup>

Hasrat Mohani continued the discussion in the second part of his article published in September, 1907 in the *Urdu-i Mualla*.<sup>26</sup> In this article he pointed out different mistake of the moderates in regard to political ideas. He says :

Their first mistake was that they thought the process of just passing resolutions was quite sufficient. They called this step as the constitutional agitation and argued that they should time to time bring their problems to the notice of the British people and Government. They also said that they should not, at any stage, show our intolerance. Rather we should adopt the policy of watch and wait as in case in England where people achieved autonomy after peacefully struggling for several centuries. Then how could be Indians successful so soon. He strongly opposed these ideas. He said that it was totally wrong to understand the circumstances similar in England and India. Of course, British people achieved Self-Government through centuries but now it is an essential part of the modern political thought and activities. Now our people have fully become aware of the fact that nothing could be achieved with Self-Government. Hasrat felt that even the achievements of the Congress in the

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25 . Ibid., p. 20.

26 . Different points raised by Hasrat Mohani in this article are also found in the National Archives of India, New Delhi in the field entitled Report of Native Newspapers United Province, July-December 1907, pp. 1093-1094. Also see details, *Urdu-i Mualla*, Ahsan-ul Matab'i, Aligarh, September 1907, pp. 23-28.

nineteenth century such as the Permanent Settlement of land, Separation of Judiciary from Executive were without achieving Home Rule. Now the people of India have become enlightened and the demand of Swaraj or Home Rule may not be over-emphasised by the British Government.

The second mistake of the moderate, according to Hasrat, was that they thought that the extremists were making English men their opponents by inviting their wrath. He was of the view that the pleasure or displeasure of the English deserves little consideration as they can never favour the Indian demands more.

The third misunderstanding of the moderates is that they call those persons as extremists who have adopted the policy of passive resistance. In fact it was the only measure which could be adopted safely. The act of petitioning had entirely failed and recourse to bloodshed was undesirable so passive resistance was the only alternative left, and it would in future be the only weapon to be used by us<sup>27</sup>.

Hasrat's view of Swadeshi was something different. According to him, Swadeshi meant anything manufactured in the country. He took the same stand point about cloth. Opposing the ideas of other national leaders he very firmly said that Indian mill-made cloth was just as much Swadeshi as *Khaddar* and that it was not right to regard hand-woven cloth alone as Swadeshi. In his view goods produced with indigenous labour and material were Swadeshi even if foreign finance was behind their manufacture.<sup>28</sup> To bring this view point into action he published an advertisement in November, 1909 issue of *Urdu-i Mualla* on a full page for padlock manufactured in the factory of Mr. Sparling

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27 . Ibid., p. 1229.

28 . K.H. Qadiri, op.cit., p. 159.

at Aligarh. Obviously this was an English concern making padlock. This step seems an apparent contradiction to radically nationalist views. But as matter of fact this advertisement was a clear evidence of his stand. The very first line of the advertisement was “Those high quality padlocks are extremely strong and durable and equal to the costly padlocks of English make”.<sup>29</sup>

During the coming years Hasrat worked more energetically than ever to spread the message of the boycott and to win over people particularly Muslims to Swadeshi goods. In this connection he went further to get sanction from the religious leaders of both the Hindus and the Muslims. He acquired printed *fatwas* from different *Ulama* just to attract Muslim masses to the boycott and Swadeshi movements. In the issue of April 1913 of the *Urdu-i Mualla* he took a further step by arguing in the light of the *Holy Quran* and *Hadis* that the boycott of foreign goods and Swadeshi movement had religious sanction and that parallel example could be found in the early History of Islam. We also come to know through the same issue about Hasrat’s journeys from place to place in the country to popularize the movements. He made a tour to Bareilly, Moradabad, Meerut, Deoband, Saharanpur, Hardwar, Lahore, Amritsar and Ludhiana which were the important cities of the western U.P. and Punjab. During this tour he made contact, with the people of different sections and encouraged them to come forward. He also informed the Muslim masses of the *Ulama*’s approval of the movements.<sup>30</sup>

It was during this period that Hasrat Mohani established a ‘Mohani Swadeshi Store’ at Russel Ganj in Aligarh. He had no resources of his own. It is said Maulana Shibli Nomani<sup>31</sup> recommended him to Sir Fazulbhoy Currim

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29 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, November, 1909, p. 23.

30 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, April, 1913, p. 25.

31 . Born in the village of Bundool, District Azamgarh in U.P. Maulana Shibli Nomani (1857-1914) belonged to an educated middle class Muslim family of Rajput origin. He was the follower of Hanafi School of Law. In 1883, he was appointed Assistant Professor of Arabic in the M.A.O.

bhoy<sup>32</sup>, a merchant of Bombay. The latter gave him merchandise on credit. Shibli was so much impressed by these literary and socio-political activities of Hasrat Mohani that on this occasion he remarked to him: "Are you a man or Jinn?" First you were poet, then you became politician and now you have become a baniya".<sup>33</sup> The famous Urdu poet Akbar Allahabadi<sup>34</sup> also composed the verses on this occasion to praise and encourage Hasrat's step of establishing a Swadeshi store at Aligarh.

تھا دل حسرت بھرا ارمان میں  
ہم نے لکھ بھیجا انہیں موہان میں  
بھائی صاحب رکھ دو تم اپنا قدم  
ہاتھ میں لو اب تجارت کا علم  
ہو چکی غیروں سے خویشی کی بہار  
بس دکھاؤ اب سدیشی کی بہار  
کام کو اٹھو چڑھاؤ آستیں  
لا یضع اللہ اجر المحسنین

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College Aligarh. Where his intellectual horizon was widened as a result of his contact with Sir Syed and his associates of moderate, modernist views as well as with some western scholars. During the Balkan wars, he composed many poems expressive of Pan-Islamic sentiments. He also played important role in the establishment of the famous religious educational institution *Nadwat-ul ulama* of Lucknow and worked for several years as its director. Shibli Nomani is also held as an internationally known scholar and historian. A number of his high leveled works occupy significant place in the world of learning and literature. For his details, see Nadvi Syed Sulaiman, *Hayat-i Shibli*, Azamgarh.

32 . Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy (1872 - ); merchant and mill owner of Bombay and a keen advocate of Muslim education; member of the *Anjuman-i Islam Bombay*; Trustee of M.A.O. College and a member of the Muslim University Foundation Committee.

33 . Nadvi, Syed Sulaiman, op.cit., p. 113.

34 . Akbar Husain Akbar Allahabai, (1846-1921), was a master of wit, humour and satire of Urdu poetry, See for his details Abid Husian, S., *The Destiny of Indian Muslims*, Bombay, Asia, 1965; Baigh, M.R.A., *The Muslim Dilemma in India*, Delhi, Vikas, 1974; Ralph Russell and Khurshid ul Islam, *The Satirical Verse of Akbar Allahabadi*, in *Modern Asian Studies* (ed.), Gordeon Johnson, London, Cambridge University Press, January 1974, pp. 1-58.

My heart was full of desires and wishes about Hasrat;  
 I, therefore, sent a letter to him to Mohan.  
 O'my brother, now you stop your pen;  
 And take in your hands the flag of commerce and trade.  
 The stranger have failed to make us prosperous;  
 Now you bring the prosperity through Swadeshi.  
 Get up to work by turning up the sleeves;  
 God never destroys the reward of the generous people.<sup>35</sup>

Hasrat was not satisfied only by establishing his own Swadeshi Store. He wanted to see a network of these shops throughout the country. In the same issue of *Urdu-i Mualla* he wrote – “Efforts are being made to open such shops in every city and big town of U.P. and also in Ahmedabad, Bombay, Nagpur, Kanpur and elsewhere”.<sup>36</sup>

The *Urdu-i Mualla* generally contained the articles against the Government policy. Most of these were seditious. Consequently his press was closed and fined by the Government. But he did not feel discouraged. Rather he spent more and more time in promoting and popularizing the Swadeshi and Boycott movement. He travelled far and wide to establish Swadeshi Shops in the most unlikely places. He helped in opening such a shop in Tonk, a small town and an extremely backward princely state in Rajasthan. Syed Mohammad Tonki says –“My maternal uncle, the late Moulvi Syed Sharfuddin Sahib, who used to live in Etawah, migrated to Tonk where he opened a ‘Swadeshi Shop’ in partnership with his brother Syed Mohammad Umar Hasni. I had heard the word *desi* and *bidesi* but no Swadeshi. I now heard it for the first time. In the shop, there were not only clothes of good design but quite a number of other

35 Syed Akbar Hussain Allahabadi, *Kulliyat-i Akbar*, (Reprint), Delhi, Media International, 2003, p. 538.

36 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, April 1913, p. 25.

things were also stocked. I enquired from these elders about Swadeshi where upon they mentioned Hasrat Mohani's name and his struggle against the British. And these stories were narrated in a place like Tonk where it was a criminal offence to read even a newspaper like *The Pioneer* which was not only edited by an Englishman but was supplied and distributed even in the armed forces. Now you can imagine how Hasrat's determination got a 'Swadeshi Shop' opened in such a place. God knows better at what other places he must have nurtured nationalist feelings for these shops traded not only in merchandise but also in ideas and ideals. As the Maulana's (Hasrat's) influence was not restricted to the Muslims but embraced both Hindus and Muslims, wherever these shops were opened they became centers of patriotism".<sup>37</sup>

## 2.4 Foundation of the Muslim League

After the Simla Deputation<sup>38</sup> the need of forming a regular organization of the Muslims was seriously felt by the Muslim leaders. The All

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37 . See, Syed Mohd. Tonk, *Yad-i Raftagan* published in *Madina*, Bijnore, 25th January 1965, p. 3.

38 . Simla Deputation: At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Muslims went disturbed because of the political development that were taking shape in India. The Aligarh alumni did not like passive attitude of the Muslims towards Indian politics. Some of them like Mohammad Ali, Shaukat ali, Khaliquzzaman, Dr. Syed Mahmood and Hasrat Mohani etc. were some of the alumni of Aligarh who would not like loyal policy of Sir Syed. They wanted a change because of the political consciousness of the Muslims. It was also realized by the Government and the English Principals of the M.A.O. College. Morison would not like any All-India Political body. He wanted to confine Muslims to only educational development, exhorting the Muslims that their political participation would jeopardize their educational development. The Home Government did not like any participation of Muslims in political Congress had already become an headache and the foundation of any political organization among the Muslims would create further problems. But the Muslims found their political future break. They got anger and it found expression through public meeting of Muslims. The Congress was gradually hiring to extremist thinking to achieve their objective, and the Muslims felt that their interest would be undermined. Muslims felt that their representation to the Council was very meagre and unless a proper representation was given they could not go ahead.

The Government of England and of India felt the challenges of the Muslims Community and brisk correspondence was also taking place between the Home and the Government of India. Morley and Minto examined the pros and cons of the situation and Morley, the Secretary of State, announced his Scheme of Reform to passify the India. To the Muslims how the Government be approached and convinced of their political importance as a major community of India. Aligarh School with its Secretary, Mohisinul Mulk, was the main figure, around whom the Muslims politics revolved. Nearly the Morley announcement for political reforms in Indian



India Muslim Educational Conference<sup>39</sup> was planning to meet for its annual session in Dacca in 1906. It was, as we know, a non-political organization formed by Sir Syed in 1886 for the dissemination of modern Western Education among the Muslims, Nawab Salimullah Khan<sup>40</sup> of Dacca was to host this meeting and as such he thought to make best use of the occasion. He planned to initiate political discussion at the end of the conference. A circular

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politics he contacted the leading members of his community through the Aligarh Institute Gazette, proposing the idea of a Muslim Deputation to be sent to Viceroy to put their grievances.

Moshin ul Mulk received about 1200 letters of Muslim from all over India, asking Mohsinul Mulk to form an all India Muslim Deputation to the Viceroy. Thus leading Members were selected all over India to form a Deputation to be head by H.H. Sir Agha Khan, the greatest leader of the Muslims at that time.

The British Government was functioning in those days at its summer capital Simla. British correspondence took place and Oct. 1, 1906 was decided by the Government to listen their grievances. Thus came to be known as 'Simla Deputation', consisting of 35 very influential Muslims, selected from all over India.

After receiving the Address from the representatives of the Muslims at Simla, Minto replied, that these (Muslims) political right and interests will be safeguarded in administration. The reply was very courageous. Never before the British Government was so soft to Muslims.

The Muslim took advantage of the Government's attitude. The Muslim Educational Conference was to meet that year at Dacca. It was a good occasion where the Muslim gentry assembled. It was decided that All India Muslim League would be funded after the session of the Educational Conference was over. Nawab Salimullah Khan of Dacca, hosted the delegates. After the Conference was over, the delegates formed another committee to meet to discuss political question. A Resolution was presented which asked for the formation of the Muslim League on December 30, 1906. This was founded the League which was to play a major role in politics in India. See Shan Mohammad, *Growth of Muslim Politics in India (1900-1919)*, New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House 1991.

39. All India Mohammadan Educational Conference – It was founded in 1886 and played vital role in disseminating modern education among the Muslim in India. It was the vehicle which carried door to door the message of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and spear-headed its activities. See for details, Shan Mohammad, (ed.), *The All-India Muslim Educational Conference*, New Delhi, A.P.H. Publishing House, 2003.
40. Nawab Salimullah Khan (1871-1914). He was born at 'Ahsan Manzil' Dacca in the year 1871. In his early youth, Salimullah joined Government, service as a Deputy Magistrate, but soon he realized that service were not for Government alone, but for the country as a whole. In the field of All India politics the greatest contribution of Nawab Salimullah was the formation in 1906 of a separate Political Party 'All India Muslim League' for the Muslims. He was a lover of education. In the same year 1906 in Dacca was established the East Bengal and Assam Provincial Educational Association, of which Sir Salim himself was the Chairman. He denoted lump sum grant for the Muslim University Movement and gave private financial aids to countless needy students. He breathed his last in 1914. For details see, Aziz, K.K. *Britain and Muslim India*, London, Heinemann, 1963; Buckland, C.E., *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, (Reprint), Delhi, Indological Book House, 1971; Mujeeb, M., *The Indian Muslims*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1967; Shan Muhammad (ed.), *The Indian Muslim : A Documentary Record*, vols. I & II, Meenakshi Prakashan, 1980; Shan Muhammad, *Education and Politics from Sir Syed to the Present Day : The Aligarh School*, New Delhi, A.P.H. Publishing House, 2002.

was issued by Nawab Salimullah Khan that a 'Political Association' would be formed in this session. Mohsinul Mulk, the Secretary of the Muslim Educational Conference, contradicted it and said that since 'Muslim Educational Conference' was an educational organisation, political discussion would not be held there. Political Association could only be formed after the Muslim Educational Conference was over. And really this was done after the conference was over. The scheme of a political conference was launched by Nawab Salimullah Khan. His letter issued on November 9, 1906 proposed the formation of an 'All India Muslim Federation'.

For final consultation they were to assemble in Dacca in last week of December, 1906. On that occasion a political meeting took place on 30 December, 1906 under the Presidentship of Nawab Viqarul Mulk<sup>41</sup> in which the All India Muslim League was formed. The following were decided to be its aims and objectives.

- (i) To promote among the Muslims of India the feeling of loyalty to British Government and to remove any misconceptions that may arise as to the intention of government with regard to any of its measures.

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41 . Nawab Viqarul Mulk Mushtaq Husain (1841-1917). He was born in 1841. His family had a good social standing as his ancestors had served the royal Mughal family. In 1875 he joined the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad where he served till his retirement in 1900 and was awarded by the Nizam the title of Nawab Viqarul Mulk. The decision of the British Government to introduce the Devanagri script in place of the Persian script in United Provinces dragged him into active politics. He entered in politics with the explicit objective of safeguarding the interests of the Muslims. In 1906 he called a meeting of some of the members of the Educational Conference held at Dacca and passed the need for forming a political party for safeguarding the interests of the Muslims. Thus the all India Muslim League was formed of which he was appointed the first General Secretary. During all these years, he was also closely associated with Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and was appointed the Honorary Secretary of the M.A.O. College Trustees in 1907. He held this post till 1912 when he resigned on grounds of ill health and old age. After Sir Syed Ahmad Khan he was the most eminent figure behind the Aligarh Movement. For detail, see Maulana Habibur Rahman Sherwani, *Viqar-i Hayat*, Aligarh, Sadar Daftar, All India Muslim Educational Conference, Sultan Jahan Manzil, 1925; Shan Mohammad, *Successors of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan: Their Role in Growth of Muslim Political Consciousness in India*, Delhi, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1981. pp. 20-31 Maulana Ghulam Rasool Mehr, *Viqar-ul Mulk Naqoosh Shakshiyat Number*, October 1956, Karachi, p. 36.

- (ii) To promote and advance the particular rights and interests of the Musalmans of India and aspirations to government.
- (iii) To prevent the rise among the Muslims of India of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other objects of the League.<sup>42</sup>

Hasrat Mohani on this occasion wrote an article entitled *Musalmanan-i Hind ka political Mustaqbil* (The political future of the Indian Muslims), in his *Urdu-i Mualla*.<sup>43</sup>

He used to attend its annual sessions. Accordingly when on March 22-23, 1912 All-India Muslim League<sup>44</sup> held its Session in Lucknow under the Presidentship of Sir Mohammad Shafi<sup>45</sup>, Hasrat, though not its member, part in the deliberations. In this Session a resolution was brought forward by Sir Wazir Hasan<sup>46</sup> suggesting to add to the aims and objects of the League a clause to

42. Syed Tufail Ahmad Manglori, op.cit., pp. 369-70. For its detail see, Francis Robinson, *Separation among Indian Muslims*, Reprint, New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, 2008; Lal Bahadur, *The Muslim League Its History, Activities and Achievements*, Agra; Agarwal, 1954, Shan Muhammad (ed.) *The Indian Muslims : A Documentary Record (1900-1947)*, vol. I, Meerut, Meenakshi, 1980. Shan Muhammad, *Growth of Muslim Politics in India (1900-1919)*, New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House, 1991.

43. For details, see, *Urdu-i Maulla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Matab'i, June 1907, pp.1-5.

44. Syed Tufail Ahmad Manglori, op.cit., pp. 389-391. See for details, Shan Muhammad, *The Indian Muslims : A Documentary Record (1900-1947)*, vol. III, Meerut, Meenakshi Prakashan, 1980, pp. 228-230; Home Political, February 1913, No. 85-86, Deposit, National Archives of India, New Delhi.

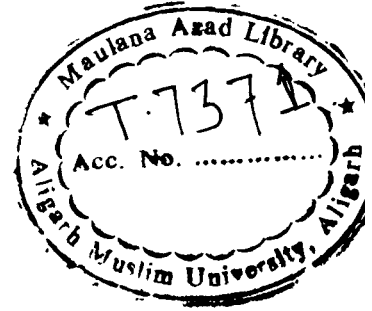
45. Shafi Mohammad Sir (1869 -1932). He was born in 1869 at Baghbanpura in the district of Lahore. Shafi's education began in a local mosque. His college education began in the year 1886 at the famous Government College, Lahore. Sir Mohammad Shafi promoted the cause of Indian Muslims through educational progress and political organization. As a Trustee of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh and a member of its first syndicate and also Vice President of the All India Muslim University Association, he advanced the movement of Sir Syed Ahmad. He published articles advocating the formation of a political organization of the Muslims. He drew up its constitution and suggested that it might be called the 'Indian Muslim League'. He presided over the Lucknow session of the All India Muslim League in 1913. He opposed joint electorates. He formed the 'Shafi League' in the Punjab in 1927 after his differences with Jinnah. See in this connection, Abid Husain, S., *The Destiny of Indian Muslims*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1965; Ahmad, Aziz, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan*, London, Oxford University Press, 1967; Albiruni, A.H., *Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India*, Lahore, 1950; Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, Reprint, Lahore, Brothers Publishers, 1993; Mujeeb, M., *The Indian Muslims*, London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1967; Shan Muhammad (ed.), *The Indian Muslims : A Documentary Record (1900-1947)*, Meerut, Meenakshi, 1985, pp. 260-269.

46. Sir Wazir Husain (1872-1947). He was born at Kalupur, district Jaunpur on 1st May 1872 and educated in Government High School, Ballia, Muir College Allahabad, M.A.O. College Aligarh.

attain suitable Self-Government for India. It was really a matter of great significance for he was very much pleased to note that within seven years after its birth, the League became so radical. He had predicted this change at the time of its establishment.<sup>47</sup> On this occasion he published following verses in the *Al-Hilal* of Abul Kalam Azad on 2<sup>nd</sup> April, 1913:

لیگ کو سلف گورنمنٹ ہے اب پیش نظر  
اللہ الحمد کہ حل ہوگئی ساری مشکل

اب یہ بیجا ہے شکایت کہ وہ آزاد نہیں  
اب یہ کہنا غلطی ہے کہ وہ ہے پاور گل  
لیگ نے حق طلبی میں جو یہ جرأت کی ہے  
واقعہ یہ ہے کہ ہے مدح و ثنا کے قابل  
لیگ والوں نے جو اسٹیج پہ کیں تقریریں  
کردیئے اس نے خیالات غلط سب باطل  
الغرض لیگ کے اور مجلس ملکی کے حدود  
یوں ملے آگے بہم بحر سے جیسے ساحل



He joined Muslim League in 1907 and was elected as Joint Secretary. As Acting Secretary, he served the ideal of gradual self-government as one of the aims of the All India Muslim League Council meeting, Bankipur, December 1912. He joined after his expulsion but remained out of active politics. He was a member of Aligarh, Allaahbad and Lucknow University courts. He also served as a Judge at the Lucknow branch of the Allahabad High Court, which was known at that time as the Chief Court. For sometime he was its chief judge. His eldest son Syed Ali Zahir was the minister in the Enterim Government of India during 1946-47 and later on several times became minister in Uttar Pradesh during fifties and sixties. Syed Sajjad Zahir, one of the famous earliest leaders of the Communist Party of India, was his son whereas Professor S. Nurul Hasan, the founder of the Centre of Advanced Study in History at the Aligarh Muslim University, was his daughter's son. For Wazir Hasan's details, see, Albiruni, A.H., *Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India*, Lahore, 1950; Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada (ed.), *Foundation of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League Documents (1906-1947)*, vols. I & II, New Delhi, Metropolitan Book Co., 1982; Ray, Santimary, *Role of Indian Muslims in the Freedom Movement*, New Delhi, P.P.H. Publication, 1970.

47. See, *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Matab'i Press, June, 1907, pp. 1-5 and February-March 1913, Aligarh, Urdu Press, pp. 26-27....

League's aimed and object is Self-Government;

Thanks to God, the whole problem is solved.

Now it is inappropriate to complain that it is not independent;

Now it is wrong to say that its feet are dusted with mud.

What type of courage has been shown by the League;

The event is to be highly praised.

The speeches delivered by the Leaguers at the stage;

Removed all types of misunderstandings.

In short, boundaries of the League and the country;

Meet in such a manner as sea and coast meet each other.<sup>48</sup>

## 2.5 Surat Congress

As we have seen the Congress leadership was divided in those days in the groups called moderates and extremists. Leaders like Dada Bhai Naoroji<sup>49</sup>, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta<sup>50</sup>, Gopal Krishna Gokhale<sup>51</sup>, Surendra Nath Banerjee<sup>52</sup>,

48 . Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *Al-Hilal*, Calcutta, MacLard, 2 April 1913, p. 15.

49 . Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917) was a leading social reformer during the second half of the nineteenth century. He was the founder member of Indian National Congress and many times became its president. He was a great speaker, both in English and Gujarati. His speeches were remarkable for their simplicity and force fullness. Known as 'The Grand Old Man of India'. He was a patriot and a nationalist of a high order but he belonged to moderate group of the Indian national Congress. In this connection see for details Dadabhai Naoroji, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, (Reprint), New Delhi, Commonwealth Publishers, 1988; Masani, R.P., *Dadabhai Naoroji*, New Delhi, Publication Division, Government of India, 1960; Munni Rawal, *Dadabhai Naoroji : A Prophet of Indian Nationalism (1885-1900)*, New Delhi, 1989; Zaidi, A.M., *The Indian National Congress Veterans: The Grand Little Man of India Dadabhai Naoroji*, vol. I, New Delhi, Indian Institute of Applied Political Research, 1985.

50 . Pheroze Shah Mehta (1845-1915). A pioneering nationalist and popularly known as the uncrowned king of Bombay. He belonged to moderate group of the Congress. See S.P. Sen (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. III, Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, 1974.

51 . Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915) became the member of the Indian National Congress 1889. In 1890 he was elected Honorary Secretary of the Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona. He was the President of Indian national Congress 1905. See for details, D.G. Karve & D.V. Ambedkar (ed.), *Speeches and Writings of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1966. D.B. Mathur, *Gokhale A Political Biography: A Study of His Service and Political Ideas*, Bombay, Manaktalas, 1966; John, S. Hoyland (ed.), *Gopal Krishna Gokhale: His Life and Speeches*, (Reprint), Calcutta, Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1948; Nanda, B.R., *Gokhale: The Indian Moderates and the British Raj*, vol. I & II, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1977; Stanley, A. Wolpert, *Tilak and Gokhale: Revolution and Reform in the Making of Modern India*, California, University of California Press, 1962.

52 . Surendranath Banerjee (1848-1925), who rose to be a well known nationalist leader, was the popular journalist and dedicated educationalist. At the Surat Congress split in 1907, Banerjee and

Motilal Nehru<sup>53</sup> and Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya<sup>54</sup>. The extremist leader of the Congress Lala Lajpat Rai<sup>55</sup>, Aurobindo Ghosh<sup>56</sup>, Bipin Chandra Pal<sup>57</sup> and Lokmanya Tilak.<sup>58</sup>

Hasrat, since the beginning of political inclination, deeply felt attracted to Lokmanya Tilak and considered him as the greatest freedom fighter and flag

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other moderates succeeded in preventing the extremists from capturing the organization, i.e. the Indian National Congress. For him and his political activities, see S.P. Sen (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, vol. II, 1974.

- 53 . Motilal Nehru (1861-1931), an eminent lawyer practising at the Allahabad High Court and renowned politician become the President of the Indian National Congress 1919 and 1928. He was also the founder of the Swaraj Party. For details see Ravinder Kumar and D.N. Panigrahi, (ed.), *Selected Works of Motilal Nehru*, New Delhi, (Nehru Memorial Museum and Library), Vikas Publishing House, 1982; Upendra Chandra Bhattacharya and Shovendu Sunder Chakravarty (ed.), *Pandit Motilal Nehru : His Life and Work*, New Delhi, D.K. Publishing Corporation, 1985.
- 54 . Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya (1861-1946) was the founder of the Banaras Hindu University. Varanasi. He was also a prominent leader of the Congress and Hindu Mahasabha. He was the President of the Congress 1909, 1918 and 1933. See details, Sita Ram Chaturvedi, *Builders of Modern India: Madan Mohan Malviya*, Publication Division, Government of India, New Delhi, 1961.
- 55 . Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928), a famous author, lawyer and Arya Samaj leader, was a reputed extremist leader of the Indian National Congress and became its President in 1920. See details, Lajpat Rai, *Unhappy India: Being a Reply to Miss Katherine Maya's 'Mother India'*, Calcutta, Banna Publishing Co., 1928; Lala Dhanpat Rai, *Life Story of Lala Lajpat Rai*, Tr. from Urdu and ed. by Ishwar Dutt Puri and R.C. Puri, New Delhi, Metropolitan Book Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1976; Nanda, B.R. (ed.), *The Collected Works of Lala Lajpat Rai*, New Delhi, Manohar Publishers, 2004; Joginder Sing Dhanki (ed.), *The Story of My Life by Lala Lajpat Rai: An Unknown Fragment*, New Delhi, Gitanjali Prakashan, 1978.
- 56 . Aurobindo Ghosh (1872-1950) came from a Kayastha family of West Bengal, Shri Aurobindo Ghose (1872-1950) also belonged to the extremist group in the Congress. Having remained deeply involved in extremist political activities in Bengal, particularly between 1906 and 1910, he shifted to Pondicherry in 1910 to lead a retired life. He also published a magazine *Yugantar*. For detail see, M.P. Pandit, *Sir Aurobindo*, (Reprint), New Delhi, Publication Division, Government of India, 1987; S.P. Sen (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. I, Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, 1972, pp. 82-86.
- 57 . Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932) also a Bengali Kayastha, was a prominent Brahmo Samaj leader and a social reformer. He was a prolific author and a journalist as well. He belonged to extremist group of the Congress. See S.P. Sen (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. III, Calcutta Institute of Historical Studies, 1974, pp. 284-287.
- 58 . Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920). Born in an orthodox Chitpavan Brahmin family at Ratnagiri, started his public life only after his dissociation from Deccan Educational Society in 1890, by which time he had completed control over the *Kesari* and the *Maratha* on 14 September 1897 he was sentenced to eighteen month imprisonment. He was the leader of the extremist group in the Indian National Congress. 'Self-Government is our goal' was his famous slogan. In this connection, see for his details, Reisno, I.M. & Goldberg, N.M., *Tilak and the Struggle for Indian Freedom*, New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1966; Ram Gopal, *Lokmanya Tilak – A Political Biography*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1956; Stanley A. Wolpert, *Tilak and Gokhale: Revolution and Reform in the Making of Modern India*, California, University of California Press, 1962.

bearer. His famous slogan the 'Self-Rule (Swaraj) is our birth right and we shall achieve it' had left deep impression on Hasrat's mind. Both his prose and poetry reflect his profound praise of and sentimental association with Tilak. In one of his articles, published in *Urdu-i Mualla* in November 1909 he proudly declared himself as the follower of Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh.<sup>59</sup> Paying tribute to Tilak through his verses, Hasrat says :

اے تلک اے افتخارِ جذبہ حب وطن  
 حق شناس و حق پسند یقین و حق سخن  
 تجھ سے قائم ہے بنا آزادی بیباک کی  
 تجھ سے روشن اہل اخلاص وفا کی انجمن  
 سب سے پہلے تو نے کی برداشت اے فرزندِ ہند  
 خدمتِ ہندوستان میں کلفتِ قید و محن  
 ذات تیری پیروی پر حسرت و آزاد کو  
 اے تلک تادیر رکھے تجھ کو رب ذوالہمن

O' Tilak, a pride in the spirit of the country's love;  
 You know Truth, like Truth, believe in Truth and speak Truth.  
 You have maintained the roots of fairless freedom;  
 The meeting (assembly) of sincerity of faithfulness is illumined by you.  
 First of all, you bore O' the son of India;  
 The trouble of imprisonment in the sake of India's love.  
 As Hasrat and Azad can follow you perpetually;  
 May God give you, O'Tilak, a long life.<sup>60</sup>

59 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, November 1909, pp. 12-13.

60 . Hasrat Mohani, *Kulliyat-i Hasrat Mohani*, Delhi, Nomani Publishing House, 1977, p. 122.

Hasrat again wrote

آزادی ہند کی خواہش کو مقبول خاص و عام کیا  
 دل اہل ستم کے بیٹھ گئے وہ بال تلک نے کام کیا  
 سب ہند کے گرم اخباروں نے مضمون لکھے کیسے کیسے  
 جس سے کہ فرنگی ڈرتے تھے اس راز کو طشت از بام کیا  
 ہم شامل فرقہ نرم نہیں ہمیں پہلی شکست کی شرم نہیں  
 آغاز میں کب آزادوں نے بیکار غم انجام کیا  
 بلونت تلک اے فخر وطن نے جرم اسیر دام محن  
 یاد آئی تری جس دن فوراً حسرت نے جھک کے سلام

You popularized the desire of India's freedom among the elites and common men;

O' Bal Gangadhar Tilak, you did so great work that the heart of tyrants became dead.

All the famous newspapers of India published attractive articles;

You opened the secret which was a great secret of Britishers.

We don't belong to moderate group, we are ashamed of our first defeat;

The independents have never been unnecessarily have graived in the beginning.

O' great Tilak, O'pride of the country, O'prisoner of the beautiful crime;

Whenever I remembered you, I immediately paid salutation to you.<sup>61</sup>

Thus it may also be said here that Hasrat's Urdu poetry became a means of conveying nationalist sentiments to the masses. Since the partition of Bengal

61 . Urdu-i Mualla, Aligarh, Urdu Press, December 1909, p. 19.



Congress was boiling like a hot pot, one of these groups stood for the moderate action and the other demanded extremist action. The extremists led by Tilak, wanted Congress to take stern action against the Government policies while the moderates desired to solve the problem peacefully. They believed in non-revolutionary method and felt that the time had not come that the Congress should revolt against the Government. These ideological differences came openly to the surface when the Congress met at Surat in 1907. It may be mentioned at this juncture that the signs of difference between the two groups had already been seen at the Calcutta Congress in 1906. The dispute arose on the issue of the election of the Congress President. The moderate section wanted Rash Bihari Ghosh<sup>62</sup> to be the Congress President whereas the extremists wanted Tilak to be elected for this post. Voting took place and the moderate won. This divided the Congress very clearly and openly in two schools; moderates and extremists having their own philosophy and attitudes towards the British government. The year 1907 is very important in the history of our Freedom Movement. As mentioned above, the Congress met this year in Surat, a city of Gujrat Province. Contrary to the last year's session held in 1906 at Calcutta, the difference between these groups turned into at Surat. But at the end of the moderates gained control over the Congress.<sup>63</sup> It was on this

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62 . Rash Bihari Ghosh (1845-1921). He was born on 23 December, 1845 in the village of Torekona in the District of Burdwan. However he was closely associated with the Calcutta University. In 1879 he became one of its Fellows and from 1893 to 1895 was President of the Faculty of Law. He was greatly influenced by Gokhale's political ideas. He was President at Surat session of Congress in 1907. He was a member of the Indian Legislative Council from 1891 to 1896 and again from 1906 to 1907, where he took an active part specially when legal or financial matters came up for discussion. See for his details, S.P. Sen (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. II, Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, 1973, pp. 57-59.

63 . Golden Jubilee celebration of the revolt of 1857 was to take place. But there arose a contradiction as to whether this should be celebrated or not because in Bengal youths who were demonstrating against its partition. Their peaceful demonstration had now turned into bloody clashes in which bombs and fire arms were used. Government took strict action against this. Hasrat Mohani was sympathetic to the revolutionary movement of Bengali youths. For the

occasion that not only Hasrat, but some other leaders of the extremist group wrote articles on the *Urdu-i Mualla* in favour of the steps taken by the extremists. In an article *National Congress Ka Khatma* (The End of National Congress) published in December 1907 in his *Urdu-i Mualla*, Hasrat discussed the fact about Surat Congress with a view to bring the people as he was of the view that by knowing the fact to know the real reason they will certainly agree with the extremists and will not hold this group responsible for the failure of the Congress. People will also come to know as to why they did not bow down before the Government. In this article Hasrat expressed hope that by doing so, i.e. telling facts to people, they particularly those having just ideas, would surely condemn the moderates for their cowardice and decistful falsehood. He writes: "When the freedom movement started in India, the Government of India took all possible action to get it crushed. However, the impact of the harsh policies of the Government was different on different people. If on one hand, this tyranny and oppression from the side of British enhanced and strengthened the spirit of independence in the people, on the other, it (the stern action of the British Government against Indians), also activated the feelings of slavery and selfishness hidden in the hearts of cowards and low-natured people. And as such the moderate group not only prepared to run away but also tried to ruin the lovers of the country alongwith itself. This group, that is disgrace to the country and consists of sycophants, was still engaged, through loyal deputations, in expressing its loyalty to the British Government and its agreement with the obedience to tyranny as well as servitude to oppression that

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details of the Surat Session the Congress in 1907, see Sitaramaiyya B. Pattabhi, *The History of the Congress*, vol. I, Allahabad, Congress Working Committee, 1935, pp. 5-138.

in the mean time the decistful speech of Mr. Morley<sup>64</sup> proved to be a flag on the horse of independence. And having fascinated with the magic of the policy of attracting and convinced moderate group, its members ran very fast like flatterer ponies. Their imaginary hope of getting rank and position made them so much blind that instead of fighting with the enemy they strongly decided to destroy and hand over to the rivals the spirited patriots of their own country. Accordingly, it was endeavoured to bring strictly into practice the instructions issued right from the time of Morley to Lord Minto<sup>65</sup>, Sir John Hewett<sup>66</sup>, Commissioner of Berar, that it was enough for the moderates just to break their contact with the extremist group but it is also their duty to cooperate with Governments. In completely destroying the naturalist group from India. Therefore, it is since this very time that the strong decision of expelling and crushing the extremist group was started to bring into practice. The first sign came to light when the Congress session, scheduled to take place in Nagpur, was shifted to Surat so that moderates could succeed in changing the system on the basis of their magnamity and others (extremists) could be ousted for ever.<sup>67</sup>

Not only this much, like *Indu Parkash* - Bombay, *Hindu Patriot* - Calcutta, *Tribune* - Lahore, *Indian People* - Allahabad, *Advocate* - Lucknow, etc. were already campaigning against the extremist leaders. It was openly

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64 . Morley Jon (1838-1923) British Liberal Statesman and author; Secretary of State for India 1905-1910, remembered as co-author of Morley-Minto Reforms 1909.

65 . Lord Minto (1847-1914); military Secretary to Government General of Canada, 1883-85, Governor-General of Canada, 1898-1904, Viceroy of India, 1905-10.

66 . Sir John Hewett (1854-1941); entered ICS, 1877; served in the home department, 1886-1902, Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces, 1902-4; member, Viceroy's Council, 1904-07, Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, 1907-12.

67 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Matab'i , December, 1907, pp. 7-8.

being written in these papers the extremists would either adopt the path led by moderates or will leave the Congress forever.<sup>68</sup>

There was a tussle of power of differences between the extremists and the moderates. Hasrat was too particular over what he thought politically right. Continuing to support the extremist group he once wrote that the moderates had no right to ask the extremists to bow down. He raised question against the life-style of Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta. Hasrat said that he had no right to criticize Lord Curzon and Sir Fuller<sup>69</sup>, while he (Pheroze Shah Mehta) himself stayed far from the general delegates, in a royal class bungalow at the time of the Congress sessions.<sup>70</sup> Hasrat write that the moderate leaders dictating their terms and were not following the principles of democracy. They were not at all ashamed of their immoral activities. In this connection he also vehemently criticized Krishna Swamy Iyer<sup>71</sup> and Madan Mohan Malviya by saying that their followers sacrificed not only their self respect but also the respect of their country simply for their personal gain or to receive medal from the Government of India. Though they plead the Swadeshi movement but from top to bottom they wore 'English dress'. They did not have the courage to face the Britishers nor did they themselves want to say anything which might lead to

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68 . Ibid., p. 8.

69 . Sir Fuller Joseph (1854-1935) first Lieutenant Governor of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam an effect of partition of Bengal 1905. Before his elevation to the Lieutenant Governorship of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam on 16 October 1905, Fuller served as Chief Commissioner of Assam (1902-1905).

70 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Matab'i, December, 1907, pp. 8-9.

71 . Iyer, V. Krishna Swamy (1863-1911) – Iyer was born of orthodox Brahmin parentage at Tiruvadamaruthur in the Tanjore district of the Madras Presidency in June 1863. He had taken part in the various Congress sessions that met in the year 1889, 1890, 1894 and 1889. In 1903 he was the Chairman of the Reception committee that hosted the Madras Session of the A.I.C.C. At the Surat Congress 1907, he was the principal speakers on the moderate side. See for his details S.P. Sen (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. II, Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, 1973, pp. 218-219; *Encyclopedia of the Madras Presidency and other Adjacent States*, 1921.

their arrest, thus avoiding the harsh life of Jails. They teach the public to kiss the feet of their tyrant rulers. In fact they want that the person who kicked you, you considered him as respectable Indian people to always be slave of British. Nevertheless, these elements blame Mr. Tilak for selfishness and getting position. To Hasrat it was a matter of great wonder.<sup>72</sup>

Praising Tilak, in a very high manner, Hasrat Mohani say : “Both freedom and the country’s love consider it great honour for being associated with him, Tilak, who devoted his whole life and energy in serving only and only his country, preferred to sacrifice his luxurious life, wealth and personal freedom but never hesitated to say truth. His followers rightly take pride in saying that their leader (Tilak) never spoke any single such word which even took back either due to any pressure or like Gokhale with a view to any need.<sup>73</sup> Instead of being placed on such a high rank of leadership, he (Tilak) was so much strict in following the real democracy that he never hesitated in sitting, living, eating and even consulting with common people. Sometimes he also did not feel it bad to prefer their views to his own opinion. Everyone feels spiritual satisfaction and encouragement in his company. He gladly bore and even still facing great difficulties and hardships for the sake of the country. He never leads Indian to humiliation and slavery. Rather he taught them the lesson of self-respect and confidence. He never consider his country-men as object.

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72 . See, the above cited article of Hasrat Mohani, *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Mutab’i, December, 1907, p. 9.

73 . The fact that from the beginning of his public life Gokhale had warm association with the British partly accounted for his attitude towards them. He had succeeded in becoming what he resolved in 1898 to become Bombay Legislative Council from 1899 to 1901 and of the Imperial Legislative Council since 1901; (B.N. Pandey, *The Break-up of British India*, London, Macmillan, 1969, p.49). Gokhale said that occasion ‘All that was high minded, freedom loving and honourable in England and there was much in that country that was high minded, freedom loving and honourable’ (Kelkar, N.C., (ed.), *Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, (3rd ed.) Madras, 1920, p. 950).

Rather, having confidence on their open and hidden capabilities, he always remained hopeful that one day they would surely regain their lost power and dignity. In short, every moment of his life is spent in thinking as soon as possible, India and its people could get independence".<sup>74</sup>

Discarding some moderate newspapers for calling the national leader and patriot like Tilak as selfish and enemy of the country, and also for blaming his followers for creating disturbance on the occasion of Surat Session, Hasrat says that if some of them had witnessed the attractive scene of the Surat Congress, they would have come to know as to how the followers of Tilak work in accordance with the democratic norms. In this connection he also mentions the report of an Western observers who was an eye-witness of the undemocratic activities of the moderates.<sup>75/</sup>

After all it is appropriate to say at this juncture that the main purpose of these narrations Hasrat Mohani was nothing but to bring to light the clean image of Tilak. If any extremist used harsh language, it was because of the behaviour of moderates at Surat Congress on 26<sup>th</sup> & 27<sup>th</sup> December, 1907. When they tried to disrupt the Session of Congress for their political gains. It was just because of this unhealthy attitude of the moderates that any extremist might have used harsh words with the intention to prevent this disruption. Hasrat's complaint, that the moderates' attitude was undemocratic and dictations, proved correct when on 25<sup>th</sup> December Gokhale, issued a paper in which it was clearly mentioned that from now onwards only those members or

74 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Mutab'i, December 1907, pp. 10-11. In this connection see B.N. Pandey, *The Break-up of British India*, London, Macmillan, 1969, pp. 47-53. See for detail Gopal Krishna Gokhale Papers (1889-1915), collection of Private Papers in Private Archives, National Archives of India, New Delhi.

75 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Mutab'i, December 1907, p. 11. In this connection see Wolpert, Stanley, A., *Tilak and Gokhale, Revolution and Reform in the Making of Modern India*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1961.

delegates and the member of District and Provincial Congress Committees who had full faith in him would be allowed to attend the Congress Session. Though it was against the resolution passed at Calcutta about Swaraj. If this resolution of Gokhale was allowed to be passed at Surat, it would have been nothing but suicidal of extremist group. This was why some of the members used harsh words for moderates. If there would be no other reason to oppose the moderate group, this issue of Gokhale was enough for its opposition. But because of peaceful attitude, it did not happen.<sup>76</sup>

Praising the approach of Balgangadhar Tilak, Hasrat Mohani writes that inspite of treacherous role of the moderates he (Tilak) always preferred to work not only democratically and peacefully but also in friendly manners. The Nationalist Conference<sup>77</sup> appointed a seven members committee from among the extremists to negotiate with the moderates over the resolution and Swaraj, Swadeshi bycott and national education. It was said that if they agree to bring at the Surat Congress the resolutions passed last year at Calcutta Session, the extremist will not oppose them and if the leaders of the moderate group were not ready over it and are persistent of the expulsion of the extremists, then there is no other way for the latters than to oppose them (moderates) even on the issue of the election of the Congress President.<sup>78</sup>

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76 . Urdu-i Mulla, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Mataba'i, December 1907, p. 11. For this steps of Gokhale also see Stanley Walpert, *Tilak and Gokhale: Revolution and Reform in the Making Modern India*, California, University of California Press, 1962.

77 . It may be made clear at this juncture that the leader of the extremist group called themselves as Nationalist and for their group are used the term either Nationalist Conference or National Party. See B.N. Pandey, *The Break-up of British India*, London, Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1969, p. 50; also see Stanley A. Walpert, *Tilak and Gokhale: Revolution and Reforms in the Making of Modern India*, California, University of California Press, 1962, p. 297; also see, B.B. Mishra, *The Indian Political Parties : An Historical Analysis of Political Behaviour upto 1947*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1976, pp. 125-128.

78 . Urdu-i Mualla, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Mataba'i, December 1907, p. 11. See Mehrotra, S.R., *A History of the Indian National Congress*, vol. I, 1885-1981, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1995, pp. 211-220; Richard Sisson & Stanley Wolpert (ed.), *Congress and Indian nationalism the Pre-Independence Phase*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988, pp. 73-86.

It is appropriate to mention here that the moderate group had decided to make Rash Bihari Ghosh the candidate for the post of Congress President. Making clear the above mentioned opposition of the moderates from the side of extremists, particularly on the issue of the presidential election, Hasrat writes that it (opposition) is not based on any personal opposition to Rash Bihari Ghosh. Rather it is on account of these two principles. Firstly all the resolutions of the moderates must be criticized by making it clear that whatever happened in Surat Congress was because of the artificial (forced) majority keeping in mind the expulsion of the extremists from the Congress. Secondly, they should also declare that the proposal of the candidate of Rash Bihari Ghosh was just to please the British Government.<sup>79/</sup>

But the moderates were so much annoyed that their leaders did not like even to meet Tilak. Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta passed his time in taking breakfast several times a day while Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya generally kept himself busy in prayers etc. Consequently, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Saraya (of Bombay) and others of the seven members committee failed into negotiation with the moderates.<sup>80</sup>

( According to Hasrat the real reason of moderate group to oppose and neglect Mr. Tilak was actually their majority in the Congress. But as for their so-called support by a heavy majority, it may be said in this connection with

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79 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Mutab'i, December 1907, p. 11. In this connection see B.N. Pandey, op.cit., pp. 52-53; Mehrotra, S.R., *A History of the Indian National Congress*, vol. I, 1885-1918, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1995, pp. 227-231, Home Political, October 1909, No. 22, Part, Deposit, National Archives of India, New Delhi and also see Sitaramayya, Patabhi, B., *The History of the Congress*, vol. I, Allahabad, Congress Working Committee, 1935; Singh, Iqbal, *Indian National Congress : A Reconstruction*, vol. I (1885-1918), New Delhi, Manohar Publication, 1987, pp. 129-130.

80 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Matab'i, December 1907, p. 13. See for details, Singh Iqbal, op.cit., pp. 129-134; Richard Sission and Stanley Wolpert, op.cit., pp. 74-80.



certainly that it was only their allusion because a considerable number from amongst the delegates even belonging to the moderate group heartily liked appreciated the proposal of peace and compromise wanted it to be passed but in vain.<sup>81)</sup>

Meanwhile there arise another controversy when on the occasion of the Midnapur Conference police was called during Banerjee's speech. When he started his speech, some of the Bengali delegates who were not happy with him shouted "no-no" to show their protest. In response the moderates cried "continue-continue". There was a big noise and many delegates who loved their country, were also not liking the moderates behaviour. Keeping in mind the disturbed situation, it was demanded to call off the Congress for a day. Hasrat is of the view that this one day postponement was enough for the moderate leaders to patch up with Tilak and if not so, they could atleast give up the policy of humiliating him by making his efforts failure.<sup>82</sup> But unfortunately still there was no change in their attitude. Shedding light on the whole scenario of the Surat Congress, Hasrat further says that they called the dons of the city and deputed them within the tent with the intentions to beat Tilak and his followers in the session of the Congress was going on. The volunteers of National Party<sup>83</sup> were already forbidden to enter in the Hall and within the premises of Conference Hall. Anti-social elements had taken position within the premises of Conference Hall. Not this much they Pamphlets in Gujarati language were also disturbed in which, addressing Gujaratis, it had written that

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81 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsanul Matab'i, December 1907, p. 13; Also see detail, Walpert, Stanley, A., op.cit.; Iqbal Singh, op.cit., pp. 129-130.

82 . *Ibid.*, p. 13.

83 . It is another name as mentioned in foot note 77 of the extremists' group.

Shivaji<sup>84</sup> attacked and looted Surat twice. Though at the time of his second attack when he was leaving Surat, he told its citizens that he would soon come again. Yet he could not invade the city third time. But it was very emphatically written in the pamphlets that Tilak is Shivaji's *awtar* (messenger). Though he could not come but Tilak has come to cut your nose. Therefore you (Gujrati) must awakened and ready to face him.<sup>85</sup>

All these plans of the moderates notwithstanding, Tilak, as appears from Hasrat Mohani's narrations, was still trying to compromise. But when he found them avoiding to meet him, he decided to present his points directly to delegates to expose the moderates in their (delegates') eyes. The whole matter according to Hasrat, is endorsed properly in the proceedings of Congress Session at Surat. It is also very clearly said by him that Tilak has instructed his followers to listen the speech of Banerjee peacefully. His followers complied with their leader's instructions.<sup>86</sup>

Now Hasrat makes it clear as to why Tilak wanted to present his solution of peace before the election of Congress President. According to him, the main intention of Balganga Dhar Tilak behind such endeavours was to elect the President unanimously. That is why he was desirous of removing all differences, between extremists and moderates, before holding the election. It was, therefore, with this purpose that he requested in writing the Chairman of the Reception Committee for some time to be given to him before the election

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84 . For Shivaji, see details Sarkar, Jadunath, *Shivaji and His Times*, Sixth edition, Calcutta, M.C. Sarkar & Sons Pvt. Ltd., 1961; Sardesai, Sakharan Govind, *New History of the Marathas*, vol. I, II & III, Bombay, B.G.Dharwall, 1948.

85 . See, *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Matab'i, December, 1907, p. 14. Also see for details, Walpert, Stanley A., op.cit.,; B.B. Mishra, op.cit.; Gopal Krishna Gokhale Papers (1889-1915) in Private Archives in National Archives of India, New Delhi.

86 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Matab'i, June 1907, p. 14. Also see S.R. Mehrotra, op.cit., pp. 230-231.

takes place so that he (Tilak) could bring a proposal at the session to avoid the differences. But there was no response from the side of Madan Mohan Malviya. Even on the verbal reminder of Mr. Kalkar, he (Malviya) intentionally remained silent with a view to reject. This proposal and stop him to deliver a speech at the eleventh hour.<sup>87</sup>

Hasrat is strongly of the view that whatever was done by extremists on this occasion at Surat session, was pre-planned. They wanted the proposal of unfairly electing Rash Bihari Ghosh the President to be passed through sharp practices. Accordingly, Mr. Banerjee, unusually, finished his speech of seconding the resolution of election very soon. And even before Tilak reached the alias, the resolution of election, by illegally receiving the chair's acceptance, was declared passed. In the mean time voting also took place and Rash Bihari Ghosh was announced elected as the Congress president.<sup>88</sup> Describing the whole event Hasrat also criticizes the role of moderate newspapers which wrote that the resolution of election was passed by heavy majority. But he is of the view at this juncture that every person having some intellect, will not at all rely upon this statement.<sup>89</sup>

As Tilak vehemently opposed the whole event, Hasrat Mohani very emphatically supports his efforts and then provides further information of the events to have occurred in the Surat Session. He says that it was within few minutes that the whole situation entirely turned into violence. A wicked person who the Chairman of the Reception Committee was seen raising hand at Tilak.

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87 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Matab'i, December 1907, pp. 14-15.

88 . *Ibid.*, p. 15. See for detail Iqbal Singh, *op.cit.*, pp. 130-131; S.R. Mehrotra, *op.cit.*, p. 230.

89 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Matab'i, December 1907, p. 16.

Another Gujarati threw shoes at him whereas one another was seen throwing chair at Tilak. Having found the mischief-mongers of the Surat misbehaving with this great leader, some of the extremists reached the dais and protected his leader. Most of the moderate leaders ran away. The President called police. Some of the moderates demanded Tilak's arrest but it was not allowed. In short, whatever happened there was the end of the Congress in the eyes of Hasrat Mohani.<sup>90</sup>

## 2.6 Hasrat's First Imprisonment (1908)

Hasrat's political activities were continued. It was within few months after the Surat Session that he wrote an article 'Educational Policy of Britishers in Egypt' in his *Urdu-i Mualla* in April 1908 in which he badly criticised the British educational policy. On the charges of writing this seditious article, he was arrested on 23<sup>rd</sup> June, 1908.<sup>91</sup> He was prosecuted under section 124-A of

90 . *Ibid.*, p. 16.; Also see Iqbal Singh, op.cit., pp. 132-34.; S.R. Mehrotra, op.cit., pp. 237-238.

91 *Urdu-i-Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, January 1910, p. 9. It is significant to note that still there is controversy among the scholar on the issue as to who was the real writer of the above mentioned article, publish in Hasrat's *Urdu-i Mulla* in April, 1908. It is said the article for which Hasrat was sentenced was not his own. Syed Sulaiman Nadvi believes that the writer of this article was Iqbal Suhail (Nadvi, Syed Sulaiman, op.cit., p. 112). According to Jalil Qidwai it was a mixture of Maulvi Abdul Haq's Urdu and Fazal Amin's English, which Iqbal Suhail prepared. It is also interesting to note that a '*parwana*' was also sent from the court to Maulvi Abdul Haq, commonly known as Bab-i Urdu but it was not duly received (see Jaleel Qidwai, ed., *Muqadma Intekhab-i Hasrat*, Karachi, 1953, p. 3). But Syed Sultana Iffat Mohani herself wrote that this article was written by Fazal Amin of Patiala, who was at that time Vice President of M.A.O. College's Student Union (see Khursheed Sultana Ifat Mohani, *Risala Urdu-i Mualla* (ed.) Alle Ahmad Soroor, *Hamari Zuban*, Aligarh, Anjuman Taraqee-i Urdu (Hind), 1st March 1958, p. 11). Ahmar Lari writes that Syed Ikram Mohani personally spoke to him that this article was written by Fazal Amin. (Ahmar Lari, *Hasrat Mohani Hayat aur Karnameen*, Gorakhpur, Adbistan, 1973, p. 89). This article was treated as a seditious article '*Aligarh Institute Gazette*' while referring about this article published an essay on 3rd June 1908. Referring to this article the editor of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* of the 3rd June remarked that as far as he knew it was not written by any student of the Aligarh College and that he did not think that there could any Musalman, no matter where educated who could criticise the educational policy of the British in Egypt in such a bitter and hostile spirit (Home Political, August, 1908, No. 47-51, Part A, National Archives of India, New Delhi, p. 6). In National Archives of India New Delhi there is a proof that this article was written by Fazal Amin (*Ibid.*, p. 3). Extract from the 'The Times of India' dated 5th August 1908.

The First District Magistrate has concluded the trial of Fazl Hassan for the publication of an article on Englishmen's educational policy in Egypt published in the April number of the *Urdu-i*

the Indian Penal Code. Himself pleading his case he denied the charge of rebellion against the British Government. He very strongly said in the Court that there was not even a single section in I.P.C. in which it was explained that any Indian could not say anything about any foreign Government. This trial took place in the court of the District Magistrate of Aligarh. On 4th August

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*Mualla* of which the accused was editor, printer and publisher. Fazl Amin, who wrote the article, started that the accused suggested that he should write an article on education in Egypt. Witness wrote it on the understanding witness would not be responsible for its contents. Witness knew the article represented accused's views. The heading and subscription were not by witness. The subscription reads written by a Mussalman student from Aligarh. After the cross-examination of Fazl Amin, of Nawab Mastam Hosen and of Habibulla Khan, Deputy collector, counsel for the prosecution addressed the court 20 minutes and one hour, respectively. The Magistrate passed a sentence of two years rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 500 fine, or six months' extra.

The judgement included the following remarks: The prosecution have put in and proved the translation of an article by Habibulla Khan, Deputy Collector, Aligarh, and no attempt was made by defence, to contest the general correctness of the translation. However, it is really unnecessary, as the court, after 20 years' residence, India is fully capable of fair comment. Accused's written statement is in fact an apology and admission that he exceeded fair comment. The defence, in saying the policy criticized, was the policy of the English and not of Government merely played with words. The whole trend of the article shows that attack was on the policy of the British Government in Egypt which is the same Government as by law established in British India. The circulation of the paper was 500 copies. Its publication at Aligarh, one of the chief seats of Mohammedan education, tended to raise feeling of enmity, hatred and disaffection towards the British Government.

In considering the sentence the Magistrate noted that this was a first offence, and also that the article was a tissue of lies, also that the figures regarding the spread of education and the expenditure on education in Egypt were absolutely false, as might be seen from Lord Cromer's *Modern Egypt* and the *Statesman's Year Book* of 1908. The facts and figures in the article were reversed and also exaggerated. The accused, by getting the article written by the son of a well known official of Patiala State, had corrupted a Mohammedan pupil of the Anglo-Oriental School. Fazl Hasan is a B.A. of Allahabad (M.A.O. College Aligarh was affiliated that time Allahabad University, Allahabad). Now it is proved that Fazal Amin who was an officer at Patiala state actually wrote this article. Editor of *Urdu-i Mualla*, Syed Fazlul Haaan Hasrat Mohani against prosecution.

The Secretary to the Government of India Home Department directed to Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Province that "I am directed to report, for the information of the government of India that the Lieutenant Governor had sanctioned the prosecution of Syed Fazlul Hasan editor of a Vernacular paper called *Urdu-i Mualla*, published at Aligarh for publishing an article in the issue for April 1908, entitled 'The Educational Policy of the English in Egypt' (Hasrat Mohani's article 'The Educational Policy of the English in Egypt', *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Ahsan-ul Matab'i, April, 1908, see Home Political, August 1908, No. 47-51, Part A, National Archive of India, New Delhi, pp. 7-9, see **Appendix I**). He has been advised and is himself of opinion that the article is seditious and proceedings are being taken against the editor under article 124-A of the Indian Penal Code." (Ibid., p. 5).

1908 he was found guilty in this case and from this date the sentence of rigorous imprisonment was granted to him.<sup>92)</sup>

The authorities of M.A.O. College which were not happy with him, gave evidence against him. The situation reached to such an extent that according to Sulaiman Nadvi, Nawab Viqarul Mulk, who was the Secretary of M.A.O. College Trustees, at that time, also became a witness against him.<sup>93</sup> Hasrat was, therefore, sentenced for two years' rigorous imprisonment with a fine of rupees five hundred. In case of the non-payment of fine the period of imprisonment was to be increased for further six months.<sup>94</sup> On his appeal at High Court, his imprisonment was reduced to one year. Since the financial condition of Hasrat was not good, he could not pay the fine and had to pass six more months in Jail. It is necessary to mention here that in order to get the amount of fine from Hasrat Mohani, his personal Library which was worth rupees four thousand at that time, was auctioned for just sixty rupees by the Government.<sup>95</sup> It was during his imprisonment that his father Syed Azhar Husain, died. His elder

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92 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, March 1910, p. 8. It may be mentioned here that Hasrat was first a Muslim leader who was prosecuted on the charges of revolt and punished. Prior to this sentence was announced to Bal Gangadhar Tilak in 1897. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was not simply ahead of Hasrat Mohani but he was also his political mentor. This is also an interesting coincidence that when Hasrat was arrested 23rd June 1908, Tilak was also arrested. Both were accused of conspiring against the British when Tilak was arrested, Hasrat became sad and any one can guess his sentiment over his statement Hasrat said "I came to know about the arrest of Tilak after two days of my arrest I was so sad that I forgot my own troubles. But my soul became happy to read the 'Defence Address' of Tilak" (*Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, January 1910, p. 10).

Till the second arrest, Tilak became a leader of All India stature, Hasrat's personality was developing and he became a leader of a very small group of north Indian Muslims. This is why when Tilak was arrested, all the people of this country protested but nobody took any notice on the arrest of Hasrat Mohani. Like this in the trail of Tilak, Mohammad Ali Jinnah the famous Muslim Barrister of Bombay was available to plead his case, while for Hasrat Mohani no lawyer pleaded his case (Ateeq Ahmad Siddiqui, *Hasrat Mohani Qaid-i Firang Mein*, New Delhi, Maktaba Jamia Limited, 1982, pp. 57-58).

93 See, Nadvi Syed Sulaiman, op.cit., p. 112.

94 . Arif Hasvi, op.cit., pp. 43-44.

95 *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, October 1910, p. 14.

brother fearing that his own belonging may be auctioned, payed the fine. Consequently he was released from the jail after one year.<sup>96</sup>

/ Shedding light on this imprisonment, Hasrat writes a series of article from January 1910 to January, 1911 in his *Urdu-i Mualla* with the title: *Mushahadat-i Zindan*<sup>97</sup> which means the 'Observation of the Prison'. Starting the story he first of all sheds light the condition of prisoners in. According to him the jail authorities behaved with Indian prisoners with great cruelty and always tried to get them humiliated and insulted. /

/ "As per norm of the jail no work can be deployed to the prison but in Aligarh Jail, I saw them grassing, sweeping and watering. They were compelled to do such work, as their refusal could cause more humiliation and torture on them. Most of them were accused without proper evidence so that they could feel their dignity deprived.<sup>98</sup> I too faced on the first day of hard imprisonment of grindings of flour and I accept this torture keeping in mind that the mankind is faced of hardships forever".<sup>99</sup> /

"I and others were thinking that this condition would continue for few days and so we will be shifted to any Central Jail where qualified prisoners are given the work of writing and teaching. Accordingly, when on 13<sup>th</sup> August, 1908, the news of one shifting to the Central Jail Allahabad was given to us, most of the prisoners were happy that some sort of literary work would surely be allotted to them as the Allahabad Jail had a jail press. But I was not hopeful

96 Arif Hasvi, op.cit., pp. 43-44.

97 . It is significant to note that some authors of Hasrat Mohani have also described his experience of this one year's imprisonment. As for example Arif Hasvi, *Halat-iHasrat*, (Reprint), Karachi, Maulana Hasrat Mohani Memorial Library and Trust, 1993. See *Urdu-i Maulla* Aligarh, Urdu Press, January 1910 to January 1911 (See Appendix II).

98 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, February 1910, pp. 9-10.

99 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, March, 1910, p. 9.

about the greatness of British. After some time this was proved and in Allahabad Jail also. I was given the work of flouring forty kg corn everyday during the whole imprisonment. Even though general prisoners are not asked to grind flour for not more than one or two months”.<sup>100</sup>

“At the time of my departure for Allahabad from the Aligarh Jail on 14<sup>th</sup> August my feet were chained and I was given in the custody of two constable. The time of train was near. But the hardened chain was very much troubling to walk towards the railway station. There was cloud and rain shower wetted the ground. After walking for some distance on foot the two constables forcibly caught a *Tonga*. We all sat on it and reached the Aligarh station. It is significant to note that the Government had not granted any more amount than the railway fare. Even food charge, one *ana* (about six paisa) to each prisoner during the journey way not given by the authorities. Consequently there was nothing to eat”.<sup>101</sup>

“The Central Jail of Allahabad is situated at Naini, on some distance from Allahabad. We reached there next day the Central Jail by 8 A.M. They put off the clothes of Aligarh Jail. As the clothes of Allahabad Jail were not available at that time, I was asked to wear black dress which was very much sotten and bad smelled. Though it was possible for a common man to put on this dress, yet I had to wear it.<sup>102</sup> As my eye-sight is weak, I use glasses at the time of reading and writing. The Superintendent of the Aligarh Jail, had permitted me, after my eye’s check-up, to use glasses but the officials at

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100 . Ibid., p.9.

101 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, April 1910, p. 7.

102 . Ibid., p. 9.



Allahabad Jail did not allow me for the same and seized my glasses. It cause me great panic”.<sup>103</sup>

“After some time the Jailer came and checked my documents and newspapers. He took them with him except *Diwan-i Hafiz* and set all these papers on fire. He also ordered me to appear before him in the office. On my appearance there, he, looking at me very angrily, ordered if you will not stay here calmly then you will be sent to hospital after declaring the patient. There you will be reduced to ashes. The silence was an appropriate answer of this brutal order. I had to sit in line of new prisoner to get my feet in channel. It was during days that I first met Swami Shivanand who too was wearing black cloth”.<sup>104</sup>

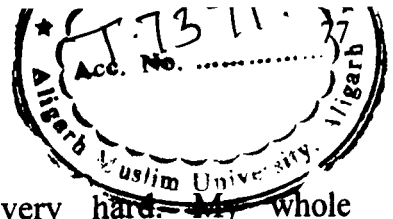
“After some weeks, there the month of *Ramazan*. It was a matter of great pleasure that all the Muslim prisoners of the Naini Jail, particularly of our barrack, were very much eager to observe fast and make arrangements for *Sehar* (food to be eaten by Muslims a little before the dawn during the month of *Ramzan*), and *Iftar* (the breaking fast just after sun-set). I was really very much happy to see this brotherhood. Those who had been assigned the work of grinding flour faced much difficulty during *Ramazan* because in this work the drinking of water many times is must. Beside this the flouring of forty kg corn per day very hard work in fasting position. But most of the Muslims kept fast even facing this hardship. It was by the Grace of God that the prisoners (Muslim prisoners) who generally used to drink water ten to twenty times a day during the grinding work did hard labour without drinking water”.<sup>105</sup>

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103 . Ibid., p. 9.

104 . Ibid., pp. 9-10.

105 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, June 1910, pp. 16-17.



“The grinding work in Allahabad was very hard. My whole imprisonment, with the mercy of jail authorities, spent facing these hardships. According to rule only thirty ser grain should be given to each prisoner but in Allahabad one *moun* (36.25 kg) grain was given to be grinded. The task was very difficult. All even concerned jail employees attitude was very inhuman. Even at every small mistake prisoners were presented before the Superintendent of Jail who generally announced more and more hard work to them”.<sup>106</sup>

“It is really a difficult task to grind flour from morning to evening. But it was more difficult for me then the grinding work that no newspaper or magazine was given to me to read. The person, like me who spent his every moment in reading and writing, was totally deprived of pen and paper. It seems that the Superintendent had specially ordered every employee of the jail that these things must not be given to me. However, I continued my habit of composing verses. And due to unavailability of pen and paper, I had to preserve most of the verses in my memory”.<sup>107</sup>

“It was on 8<sup>th</sup> November, 1908 that I got in the jail an opportunity the son of Mr. Relif who was a manager of the newspaper *Stateman* of Calcutta. I was very much pleased to see him. Being an Eurasian he was specially treated

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106 . For details see, *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, August 1910, pp. 8-11.

107 . See *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, July 1910, pp. 8-11.

It is interesting to note that the famous verse of Hasrat Mohani –

ہے مشقِ سخن جاری چلکی کی مشقت بھی  
اک طرفہ تماشا ہے حسرت کی طبیعت بھی

Both the practice of composing verses and labour grinding is carried on;

Really the nature of Hasrat is wonderful and funny.

Was composed in those day in Allahabad Jail (see Ahmar Lari, *Hasrat Mohani Hayat aur Karnamein*), Gorakhpur, Adbistan, 1973, pp. 78-88). This verse indicates to this position in the Jail. Really his habit of poetry must have provided him with great mental as well as emotional relief in those days.

and the *Pioneer* newspaper was provided to him to read. I sometime benefited from this paper in his company. It was through him that I come to know that Tilak's appeal had been accepted by the Privy Council and he was released but later on it was made clear that this news was not correct".<sup>108</sup>

After describing the jail administration and the enemic as well as inhuman attitude of the its authorities and employees towards prisoners in detail<sup>109</sup>, Hasrat also says that in Allahabad jail racial and religious discrimination was also practiced. Muslim prisoners were not provided with a better facilities as were given to Christians. On the occasion of Christmas, sweets, dry fruits and cigarettes were distributed and the jail arranged feast for them. Priest came regularly to lead their prayer. But Muslim prisoners had to offer *namaz* in half-naked position. Even at the time of their festivals, the Muslim prisoner neither were given any sort of facility nor the leave from hard work like grinding flour etc. was granted to them.<sup>110</sup> Subsequently he sheds light on the circumstances when the Inspector General of Police visited the jail twice a year.<sup>111</sup>

Afterwards, Hasrat Mohani describes the circumstances which ultimately led to his release as far example after his father's death his elder brother furnished the security etc. In the mean time he also sheds light on auction of his books in Aligarh. He also writes about the jail authorities during last month of his imprisonment.<sup>112</sup>

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108 . Ibid., p. 9.

109 . See Ibid., pp. 9-11, *Urdu-i Mualla* Aligarh, Urdu Press, September, 1910, p. 9, also see more details *Urdu-i Mualla*, Urdu Press, October 1910, pp. 9-10.

110 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, October 1910, p. 10.

111 . For detail see Ibid., pp. 11-12.

112 . Ibid., pp. 13-16.

Given the further details of his stay at the Allahabad Jail, Hasrat now tells us about the manners in which a prisoner was released from the jail, and at least mentions that the authorities fixed the date of 3<sup>rd</sup> July, 1909 for his release from the Allahabad Jail.<sup>113</sup> Now he talks about his spiritual condition during the imprisonment and in *urs* connection throws light on his hearty connection with Muslim saints-sufis. He says that when in those days he was very much spiritually concerned with the renowned Chishti Sabri saint Sheikh Abul Haq of Rudauli and when thought about and counted the days and dates of the saint's annual *urs* ceremony, he remembered that last year it had taken place in beginning of the month of July. Hasrat says that when at the time of going to bed he re-counted the dates, He came to know that the date of his release from the jail would be the last day of Shaikh Abdul Haq's this year's *urs*. Hasrat says that he therefore desired to be released some time before the fixed date so that he could attend the *urs* the saint in Rudauli. Hasrat further writes that next day he was informed that the Superintendent of the Jail was so much pleased with his conduct, behaviour and attitude that using his own power and privilege he had ordered to free him (Hasrat Mohani) fifteen days before the fixed date. This news made him very glad and he attributed this even to the spiritual possession (*tasarruf*) of the great saint of Rudauli. He was therefore released from the Allahabad Jail fifteen days before. First he went home and then departed for Rudauli.<sup>114</sup>

Afterward, Maulana Hasrat Mohani provides in his *Mushahidat-i Zinda* the details of different person belonging different places and communities he

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113 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, November 1910, pp. 11-12.

114 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh Urdu Press, November 1910, pp. 11-13.

came in whose contact during the imprisonment in Allahabad Jail. Their names are mentioned by Hasrat as Abdullah of Ghaziabad, Munshi Nand Lal of Zaidpur, in Hamirpur district, Munshi Hidayatullah of Pilibhit, Pandit Jagat Dhari of Allahabad, Munshi Izzat Bakhsh of Amroha, Munshi Nawal Bihari, Ganesh Ahir of Allahabad, Munshi Mohammad Raza of Jaunpur, Munshi Abdul Hamid of Kalpi, Swami Shivanand Pandit Sitaram of Jhansi, Bihari Nam of Korajahanabad, Munshi Shyam Singh of Bijnore and Chilar Pasi of Allaahbad etc.<sup>115</sup>

Then he sheds light on the defective and worthless condition of the jail. In this connection he describes the jail authorities and employee's behaviour and attitude towards prisoners. He also points out their discrimination between general Indian prisoners and the Christian prisoners. We come to know through Hasrat's narration that different types of irregularities and injustices were committed by jail officials specially in regard to the distribution of food and dress. Indian prisoners particularly, were also deprived of their religious responsibilities.<sup>116</sup>

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115 . See details, *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, November 1910, pp. 13-16, *Urdu-i Mualla*, op.cit., December, 1910, pp. 13-15.

116 . See details, *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, January 1911, pp. 11-13.

## **Chapter – III**

### ***Political Activities between 1910 to 1918***

## CHAPTER – III

### POLITICAL ACTIVITIES BETWEEN 1910 TO 1918

#### 3.1 Second Phase of *Urdu-i Mualla*

On his release from the Allahabad Jail Hasrat again started the publication of the *Urdu-i Mualla* from Aligarh in October 1909. It is necessary at this point, to bring to light that Hasrat Mohani now founded in Aligarh his own printing press known as the Urdu Press.<sup>1</sup> In this first issue he published the translation of an English article entitled *Risala Swaraj and Muslims* which had been originally printed in the newspaper *Karmayugan* edited by the famous extremist leader of Bengal, Aurobindo Ghosh. In this article the author expressed his views regarding the separate electorates in these words: “We are in absolutely no danger from the opposition of the Muslims provided that it is real sincere one, one of which we could metaphorically say that it is not made in Simla or Shillong but is Swadeshi made. The Muslims have not yet reached the stage in political concessions. Let them taste these sweets and discover that sweet turns into dust by the time it reaches the plates. At present Muslims will express their demands in the most well-chosen words and will be extremely proud of themselves at every promise made to them. And then when they came to realize that they have been deceived they will be furious. It is quite possible that the Muslims may pass through these stages more rapidly than others did because they will have the benefit from our past experiences and even if they do not benefit from it they on certainly be influenced by the emotions and ideas

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1. For details, see, *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press June, 1913, pp. 10-13, Also, *Al-Hilal*, ed. Abul Kalam Azad, Calcutta, Meclard, Adbistan, 21 May 1913, p. 5. Also Ahmad Lari, *Hasrat Mohani Hayat aur Karnamein*, Gorakhpur, 1973, p. 89.

which were all around them of which in these days the world of politics was full to over-flowing. It is possible that in contrast to the early mendicant policies of the Hindus, the Muslims, instead of begging from the Government, may demand their rights, thus their eyes will open sooner”.<sup>2</sup>

Further in this article the writer expressed his opinion that the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity must be tackled boldly and realistically. He gave reasons for their differences, and said that one must work to remove them, and Hindu should love their Muslim countrymen, “Because in them too the glory of Naraya (God) was present”.<sup>3</sup>

In the next issue of the *Urdu-i Mualla*, November 1909, he announced the new policies of his paper. In this connection he says: “At the time of renewing the publication of *Urdu-i Mualla* some friends, out of affection and sympathy, counselled that we should wash our hands from politics completely. Some advised that if there were to be some political articles, then they should be in complete accord with the accepted policy of the Muslim League. Some others who were of a relatively more independent turn of mind were prepared to go to the extent of saying that if we wished to back Indian public opinion, then we should adopt the ways of the moderate wing of the Congress. We should be failing in our duty if we did not thank all these friends for their well-meaning advice, so full of worldly wisdom. But the difficulty is that in our opinion, principles or beliefs, whether religious or political, are things that cannot be given up or changed under pressure of fear or considerations of expediency. To act in this way is to commit one of the worst of all moral sins,

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2 . *Urdu-i Mulla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, October, 1909, pp. 7-10.

3 Ibid., p. 10.



and no free-loving or independent journalist can ever think of it. In politics we consider ourselves bound to follow in the foot-steps of the leader of our patriots, Mr. Tilak and the chief of our patriot-lovers, Babu Aurobindo Ghosh. And in this capacity we abhor the Pheroze Shahi Congress as much as the Amiri Muslim League and the newly born Lal Chandi Conference. In our opinion this abhorrence is quite justified because the current of world (history) and the inclination of mankind is plainly towards freedom. And in the sleeping continent of Asia no major country except India is deprived of the blessings of freedom. Thus right judgement can never accept that in the whole of the world only India should be left as a country in whose fate the disgrace of eternal slavery is written. Such a view seems to be entirely against the will of God. In fact all intelligent people will have to admit that the unnatural system of the British Government cannot perpetually endure in India. And it seems highly improbable that it can continue in its present form even for a few years. The leaders of the extremists in general, and Babu Aurobindo Ghosh in particular, keep these principles in view in all of their political activities. We therefore consider him to be in the right. In contrast to this the leaders of the moderate wing of the Congress, the followers of the Muslim League and the founders of the Hindu Conference consider the Indian people and eternal slavery as inseparable; because in the opinion of these gentlemen the zenith of our progress means only that from slaves we become advanced slaves, and from subjects, prosperous subjects. The desire for the independence of India is no more important to them than a mere dream or utopia. The scope of their imagination and the scope of their activity alike is extremely limited and restricted. Their politics run counter to the world-wide movement for freedom,

and are thus completely unnatural and quite unacceptable in every respect. *Urdu-i Mualla* has nothing to do with their policies. As the Mustafa Kamal Pasha<sup>4</sup> said, 'For subject nations and countries there can be no other policy except that of engaging themselves with all their courage in efforts to regain their complete independence'. Thus every man whose policy differs even slightly from this should be reckoned as outside the ranks of the well-wishers of the country".<sup>5</sup>

The issue of *Urdu-i Mualla* in January 1910 carried an article entitled *Apne Ahl-i Watan Ke Nam* (To Our Countrymen). This was a translation of a short article by extremist Bengali leader Aurbindo Ghosh published in English in his journal *Karmayugan* from Calcutta. In it he had emphasized that the future of the country was entirely in the hands of the extremist and that they did not except anything from liberals or right wing people who were afraid of repressive measure. They could get things done without any trouble further he said that extremist were not afraid of the law, as we were not law breakers, but if the policies to plant evidence against us then we shall not remain silent. The article concludes with a warning that its extremist activities were suppressed they could not hold themselves responsible for the results of the madness which usually came from suppression of political movements.<sup>6</sup>

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4 Mustafa Kamal Pasha (1881-1938), soldier, statesman and founder of the Turkish Republic, born at Salonica and died at Constantinople (Istanbul) on 10 November 1938. He entered the military preparatory school at Monastir, 1895 graduated from the General Staff Academy. 1 November, 1922 abolished Sultanate. He abolished *Khilafat* on 3 March 1924, ministry of religious affairs and religious schools and engaged in sweeping away medieval social system by a new one based on modern western civilization..

5. *Urdu-i-Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, November 1909, pp. 12-13.

6. *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, January 1910, pp. 12-14.

In the issue of *Urdu-i Mualla* February 1910, he wrote an article entitled *Sanyas Aaur Politics* in repudiation of defamatory remarks made by Khwaja Hasan Nizami<sup>7</sup> in an article about Aurobindo Ghosh entitled *Khuni Darvesh* (The Bloody Saint). In this article Khwaja Hasan Nizami had said that saints, Sufis, faqirs, and Sanyasis should keep themselves aloof from politics. Hasrat severely criticized this stand and said: “We do not say that every saints must enter politics. We claim only that when saint-like men who, considering the demand for independence and the declaring of the truth to be a sacred duty, do not consider sincere participation in politics as opposed Sufism. No one has any right to make them the target”.<sup>8</sup>

### 3.2 Confiscation of the Urdu Press

On 12<sup>th</sup> May 1913 at 9 P.M., Superintendent of Police, Aligarh came and served a notice from the Government of India to him pointing out that some unparliamentary words or sentences against the Press Act of 1910, had been published in his paper. He was also asked in this notice to deposit a sum of rupees three thousand (Rs. 3000/-) to the District Magistrate of Aligarh within a week as security. He was also warned not to publish such things in future. It is to be noted that his Urdu Press just consisted of a wooden Press and two stone slabs. The whole Press was worth around rupees fifty (Rs. 50/-). To demand such a huge amount from a simple paper was not only astonishing but it was a kind of cruelty which aimed at destroying the Press forever.

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7. Khwaja Hasan Nizami (1878-1955) was one of the first ranked Urdu writer and produced larged works on different literary and religious aspects. He was also the *Sajjahda nashin* of the *dargah* of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya in New Delhi. Both as a writer and a *sufi*, he attracted many eminent personalities of time. Hasan Nizami was also the founder editor of the Urdu monthly *Manadi*. For his details, see, Ali, Shah Syed, *Urdu Main Swaneh Nigari*, Karachi, 1961.

8 *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, February 1910, p. 15.

Consequently, as per expectation, it was ceased on 19<sup>th</sup> May 1913. Really this closure of the Urdu Press proved to the bad administration of James Meston who never fined such a huge amount to any of the largest newspapers of India.

Hasrat obeyed the order of James Meston but it is significant to note that it did not inflict any type of loss to him either physically, mentally or financially. He did not lose, even for a moment, his confidence. He was never afraid of James Meston and his cruel colleagues. He was a free person who did not care about these cruelties. Describing the purpose of the Urdu Press, which was ceased on 19<sup>th</sup> May, 1913, he says : "The Urdu Press was started to support several movements. Now the purpose of these movements is well known to the people of India and they extended their support to these movements. Some of the rare books were published and the rest will appear soon. Its way of expression and demand of liberation was known to every one. Both Swadeshi and Boycott Movement were becoming familiar day by day. And after all the resolution of the foundation of the *Anjuman-i Khuddam-i Ka'ba* has been brought to Muslims for their consideration".<sup>9</sup> Expressing his will power, Hasrat further says that he will continue to support all these movements through writing and speech both, and he will utilize possible means to express himself.<sup>10</sup>

Shedding light on the event of the confiscation of the Urdu Press, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad writes in his *Al-Hilal*: "No doubt the security of three thousand rupees is within the limit of the Press Act, but in practice from rupees five hundred to one thousand are demanded. There are only one or two

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9 . *Urdu-i Maulla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, June 1913, pp. 10-11.

10 . *Ibid.*, p. 11.

examples of rupees two thousand. I do not know as to what reason is behind. His Honour Sir James Meston's demand of such a huge amount from a paper. Government is fully aware about the financial condition of Urdu Press and its publication. When Hasrat Mohani was released from Jail, he has just a hut on a monthly rent of rupees one and half or two. There is a small room and some open portion inside it where this brave person lives with his wife whose courage is also like the mountains. In the out portion of the hut, there is only a wooden press and one or two stone slabs. The things are so insignificant that sometime he himself has to write copies of his *Urdu-i Mualla*. He himself fixed these pages on stones and published his paper by handling the machine. This is the whole property of the owner of the Urdu Press. He has no other source of income except this. He is such a gentle type of man that he never received any help from anyone. *Urdu-i Mualla* has some two hundreds readers. It may be possible that he may earn an amount of few rupees monthly. He lives his life from this meagre amount but never loses even single moment for fighting for the country's freedom".<sup>11</sup>

### 3.3 Kanpur Mosque

It is said that in December 1908, the Government of United Provinces allotted a sum of rupees two and half lakh (Rs. 2.5 lakhs) to Kanpur Improvement Trust and Municipality to undertake fresh construction and improvement work in the congested area of the city in accordance with the scheme already sanctioned. The main part of the scheme was the road widening and other public works. The project also included the programme to widen a

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11 . Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *Al-Hilal*, Calcutta, Meclard, 21 May, 1913, p. 5.

road in the Machhli Bazar area. There were situated a Mosque and a Hindu temple. The Mosque existed on the western side whereas the temple was on eastern side of the road. The Trust had planned to demolish the temple. But it was not an easy job. The news of the demolition of the temple spread far and wide, and aroused the feeling of the Hindus. Accordingly, keeping in view the result of the work, the project was abandoned. The authorities then turned to the mosque and decided to demolish some of its part. Naturally, the Muslims of the city also were agitated. In the beginning several representations against this proposed work, were made to the Lieutenant Governor, who was on a visit to Kanpur in these days. The latter assured the leading Muslims of the city that both the mosque and the temple would not be touched. But, on the contrary, the Municipal Board of Kanpur, on the hint of its Chairman, passed a resolution that the eastern portion of the mosque should be acquired and plot to the north of the mosque be given to the Muslims as a compensation.<sup>12</sup>

Accordingly, to act upon the resolution, a large armed force surrounded the mosque in the morning of 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1913 and started demolishing its eastern portion. Strict vigilance was kept, mounted police petrolled the neighbouring streets to disperse the crowds of Muslims which assembled to stop the demolition of the building. In spite of protest the demolition was carried out in the presence of the District Magistrate H.G.S. Tyler. A telegram was sent to the Viceroy, which stated that the Kanpur mosque furnished a test case through which it would be ascertained whether the principle of the protection of places of worship from outrage and desecration was applicable to the Muslim also.<sup>13</sup>

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12 . Shan Muhammad, *Freedom Movement of India; The Role of Ali Brothers*, New Delhi, Associated Publishing House, 1979, p. 40.

13 . Ibid., p. 40.

But no action was taken and this shocked the Muslims of the city. The one argument which was advanced by the officials to justify their action was that the demolished portion was not an integral part of the mosque and that its removal in no way violated the sanctity of the place of worship. No honest effort was made to ascertain what a mosque means, according to the Islamic law. Mohammed Ali was in communication with the Lieutenant Governor and it was expected that James Meston : ‘Would not allow the local authorities to ride roughshod over the religious susceptibilities of the Kanpur Muslims. But it was a vain hope’.<sup>14</sup>

The Lieutenant Governor sent letter to the Viceroy on 24<sup>th</sup> July, 1913, now preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, in which he wrote: “I am entirely of the opinion that a press *communiqué* is necessary. Delay has been caused by ascertaining certain facts from the District Magistrate. A *communiqué* is being drafted and will be issued to-day, and I will submit a copy by post to Your Excellency. The facts of the case are as follow:

- I. The acquisition of part the mosque has been for some years known to be portion of the road scheme. No objection were raised until I decided to spare a Hindu temple which had been marked out for total destruction. Agitation was then attempted on the ground that the saving of the temple meant *detour* which would involve encroachment upon mosque. There was however no foundation for this. On the contrary the original line of acquisition was altered and drawn somewhat further to the east so as to preserve the entire courtyard of the mosque and out off nothing but the

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14 . Ibid., p. 41.

washing place. I declined to interfere with the final decision of the Municipal Committee for the reason that the washing place is not sacred in the same sense as the mosque proper and that no objection had been offered to the original and more drastic proposals. The dismantled building was a slight projection to the east of courtyard and consists of a raised platform with a drain running through it and privy at one end; the whole being roofed over as distinguished from the open courtyard for prayers. When the Chairman visited it there was a pile of shoes lying on the platform and the Mohammedans who were with him wore boots inside.

- II. There is little local excitement and the agitation is being formented from outside, and from Delhi in particular. We are prepared to rebuild the bathroom and the closet at once on the north side of the mosque. When the agitation subsides I propose to hold an inquiry assisted by respectable Mohammadans with a view to settling for the future what are the sacred limits of a mosque generally and what is the religious law about compensation. To take such a course at present would certainly aggravate the situation, I fear. It would be very difficult for any Mohammadan to withstand the pressure of the agitators and to give an independent and a moderate opinion.
- III. I need hardly to say that I am entirely in Your Excellency's hands and will do everything necessary to avoid embarrassment to the Government of India. But I trust that a public announcement of the true version of the facts and the restoration the washing place in a position equally



convenient will be considered sufficient. I shall go to Cawnpore (Kanpur) early in August and do all in my power to ally the excitement".<sup>15</sup>

Unprovoked firing on the Muslims of Kanpur resulted in the form of anti-British feelings all over the country. The problems of the masses were increasing day by day. People belonging to all creeds and castes were developing hatred for British rulers by becoming aware of their policy of divide and rule. They were also becoming to feel the necessity of the unity among themselves. Accordingly, the citizens of Kanpur also mentioned on this occasion, their mutual cordial relations. They extended their support to their Muslim brethren. On this matter also, the Hindus of Kanpur were with Muslims. It is to be noted that just on the opposite side of the Mosque at Machhli Bazar, there was as mentioned earlier, a Hindu temple. Although it did not suffer any setback during the work of road construction, yet the Hindus of the city wholeheartedly supported the cause of rebuilding the mosque.<sup>16</sup> In the end Maulana Abdul Bari Firangi Mahli, Raja Saheb of Mahmoodabad and Sir Ali Imam, member of the Viceroy's Council tried their best to solve it. They were successful when Viceroy Lord Hardinge came to Kanpur, and portions of the Mosque which were demolished earlier were rebuild by the Government of United Province.<sup>17</sup>

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15 . Home Political, October 1913, No. 100-118, Part A, National Archives of India, New Delhi, p. 1.

16 . Syed Tufail Ahmad Manglori, *Musalmano Ka Roshan Mushtaqbil* (Reprint), Lahore, Himad-ul Kutbi, p. 386.

17 . Ibid., p. 386.

Like other Muslim leaders such as Azad Subhani<sup>18</sup>, Mohammad Ali, Abul Kalam Azad, Sulaiman Nadvi, Abdul Bari Firangi Mahli<sup>19</sup> etc., Maulana Hasrat Mohani also not only oppose this brutal firing on unarmed Muslims who fought with full enthusiasm till the damaged portion was rebuilt<sup>20</sup>. It is significant to mention here that most of the Muslim leaders and intellectuals had forgiven the British Government on after the repairing of the mosque but Hasrat never changed his ideas about the foreign rulers. When after the repairing work of the mosque, the Muslim leaders assembled in Agra to participate in the session of the All-India Muslim League in 1913 under the presidentship of Sir Rahmatullah Sayani and Agha Khan presented a resolution thanking Lord Hardinge, Viceroy for this reconstruction work, most of the Muslims supported this resolution but it was Hasrat Mohani who strongly opposed it.<sup>21</sup>

### 3.4 Muslim University Movement

Hasrat Mohani was not just an excellent poet and radical politician, he had been very much concerned with the educational conditioned of the

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18 . Maulana Azad Subhani (1882-1957). A sunni Qadari sufi in Kanpur, teacher in a Madarsa. He became active during the Tripolitan and Balkan war agitation, 1912-13; took a leading part in the Machhli Bazar Mosque, Kanpur agitation. He was the President of the Calcutta session of the All India Khilafat Conference held in September 1920; Vice President of the U.P. Congress Committee, subsequently discarded his extreme orthodox views and adopted secular outlook and approach, became a labour leader in Kanpur and turned towards communist ideology. See details, Dr. Nabi Baksh Balooch, *Maulana Azad Subhani: Tahreek-i Azadi Key Ek Muqtadar Rehnuma*, Lahore, Idarah-i Tahqiqat-i, Pakistan, Danishgah, 1989; Aziz, K.K., *Britain and Muslim India*, Heinemann, 1963.

19 . Maulana Abdul Bari Firangi Mahli (1878-1926) Sunni, Qadari sufi, teacher, writer, *alim*, *pir*, a descendant of Mulla Nizamuddin, founder of Firangi Mahal, Lucknow. He was educated by his father Abdul Wahab, and at Constantinople. He founded *Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i Ka'ba*, in 1913 and became its *Khadim-ul Khuddani*. He played very active role in Kanpur Mosque agitation. He came closer to Mahatma Gandhi during the Khilafat movement. In November 1919, elected first President of the *Jamiat-ul Ulama-i Hind*. Gandhi, M.K., *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Reprint), Ahmedabad, Navjivan Publishing House, 1945.

20 . Ahmar Lari, op.cit., p. 101.

21 . Nadvi Syed Sulaiman, op.cit., p. 114.

Muslims of India. Like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan he too was of the opinion that only and only education could enable Indian Muslims to uplift themselves in social, political and economic field. Similarly, by being an educated community, the Muslims of the country could easily come forward to face the British rulers in order to get India independent. He, therefore, thought it necessary and the supreme need of the time that there should be established a University for the Muslims in India. Accordingly when in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a movement for this purpose was started, he took part in it. In the movement for the establishment of a Muslim University his role had been excellent. In 1910, when under the active participation of Sir Agha Khan<sup>22</sup>, the movement for Muslim University<sup>23</sup> was started, most of the Muslims extended their support to it. Agha Khan travelled far and wide for the collection of funds required for the University and sent delegation to different provinces for this purpose. When the actual amount, demanded by the government for granting the charter of the University, was collected, there arose certain difference

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22 . H.H. Sir Agha Khan (1877-1957). Agha Khan was born in Karachi on 2nd November 1877. He was the son of Ali Shah the forty seventh Imam of the Ismailis. His grandfather Mohammad Hasan a Persian by birth (fourth-sixth Imam of the Ismailis), was given the title of 'Agha Khan' by the Shah of Persia. Later on he shifted to Bombay. He was closely associated with the All India Muslim Educational Conference. He took personal interest in the M.A.O. College Aligarh, he played a leading role in making it to develop in the Aligarh Muslim University, in 1920. See details Greenwall, H.J., *His Highness Agha Khan Imam of Ismailis*, London, 1952; Iqbal Ali Shah, *The Agha Khan*, London 1952.

23 . Muslim University Movement : The idea of founding a University for the Muslims was as old as Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. The fall of the Mughals in 1857 had convinced this far-sighted leader that it was necessary to wean Muslims from their old ways and to introduce western education among them. The Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College, had been established. But he wanted to raise it to the level of a University. After the death of Sir Syed on March 27, 1898, renewed attempts for the establishment of a Muslim University were started. In 1910, Agha Khan's visit to Aligarh and his assurances gave great encouragement to the University movement. Nawab Viqarul Mulk, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Shaikat Ali, Shaikh Abdullah, Aftab Ahmad Khan, Raja of Mahmoodabad,, Hasrat Mohani, Mazharul Haq etc. were to playing very prominent role for Muslim University Movement. The grant of the Muslim University charter was a great step towards the advancement of higher education among the Muslims. The dream of Sir Syed matured after a lapse of about half a century and the small College of 1875 grew into a University, the cherished goal of its founder in 1920.

between the government and Muslim leaders over the autonomy of the University. Even the Muslims were also divided on this issue. According to Sulaiman Nadvi:

“What type of powers are required for Muslim University or which types of conditions Government want to impose became an issue for the division of Muslims. There were two types of groups among them. One was the moderate and the other extremist. This was also the time when among the Muslims *ahrrar* (freedom fighter) came into existence. Among the leaders of Ahrar their were Maulana Mohammad Ali<sup>24</sup>, Maulana Shaukat Ali<sup>25</sup>, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad<sup>26</sup> Maulana Zafar Ali Khan<sup>27</sup>, and Hasrat Mohani. Hasrat

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- 24 . Maulana Mohammad Ali (1878-1931). He was born at Rampur on 10 December, 1878. For his education he was sent to Bareilly in 1886 but within a couple of years, he moved to Aligarh. He obtained B.A. degree from the Allahabad University. He took admission in Lincoln College, Oxford, but he failed in the I.C.S. examination. In 1911, his dream materialized and weekly ‘Comrade’ appeared from Calcutta. Mohammad Ali was a great admirer and staunch supporter of the Aligarh Movement. He was the forefront leader of Khilafat and Non-cooperation Movement. In the history of modern India famous as ‘Ali Brothers’. See Shan Muhammad, *Freedom Movement in India: The Role of Ali Brothers*, New Delhi, Associated Publishing House, 1979.
- 25 . Maulana Shaukat Ali (1872-1938). He was born on 10 March, 1873. He took education from Bareilly and M.A.O. College Aligarh. In 1913 he founded an organization known as *Anjuman Khuddam-i Ka'ba*. Shaukat Ali become one of the important freedom fighters of India. He associated himself with Gandhiji and the Indian National Congress. He was the President of *Khilafat* Conference at Kakinada; one of the organizers of the All India Muslim Conference, 1929-31; attended the Round Table Conference 1931. See details Shan Muhammad, *Freedom Movement in India: The Role of Ali Brothers*, New Delhi, Associated Publishing House, 1979. Hasan Mushirul, *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India (1885-1930)*, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, 1991.
- 26 . Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958). Maulana Azad, one of the greatest patriot scholar and nationalist Muslims, was born in 1888, at Macca. His father who settled in Calcutta in 1898, sent young Azad to Al-Azhar University at Cairo, for advanced studies in Arabic. He started in 1912 an Urdu weekly *Al-Hilal*. He was interned to Ranchi from Bengal, where he stayed upto 1920. He came into close contact with Mahatma Gandhi during *Khilafat* and Non-cooperation movement. He was several time President of Indian National Congress. He was also associated with Muslim University Movement of Aligarh. He became Education Minister after independence. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, (Complete Version), Madras, Orient Longman Limited, 1988.
- 27 . Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (1873-1956). He was born in received education Wazirabad, Patiala and M.A.O. College Aligarh. *The Zamindar* which his father had started in 1903 after his retirement. In 1909 Zafar Ali, after the death of his father, became the Editor in charge of the paper. He was the founder member of Muslim League. He was associated with national movement. He was an eminent Muslim freedom fighter, journalist and Urdu writer. See details, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, (Reprint), Lahore, Brother's Publishers 1993;

Mohani after his captivity became the leader of these people and the differences between them increased day by day.”<sup>28</sup>

At the time when the campaign for the proposed University was at the height, a sudden brake was applied by Sir Harcourt Butler who in his letter of August 9, 1912 to the Raja of Mahmoodabad, communicating the decision of the Secretary of State said that after mature consideration the India office had decided that proposed University would not have powers of affiliation to college falling outside Aligarh. The India office objected on the following grounds.

- i) A University with branches all over India would lead to competition and probable conflict with the older territorial Universities.
- ii) Such a University would inevitably keep down the standard of Aligarh degrees and would not become a genuine seat of learning.
- iii) The value of the residential system depended upon the tone or spirit which pervaded the college and which handed on from one generation of students to another, which constitute.

The ‘Raja of Mahmoodabad’<sup>29</sup> who was in the Chair was powerless to enforce order. Mohani, editor of the *Urdu-i Mualla* which has recently

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Ikram, S.M., *Modern Muslims India and the Birth of Pakistan*, (Fifth Revised Edition), Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 1990.

28 Syed Tufail Ahmad op.cit., p.224.

29 . Mohammad Ali Mohammad, Raja of Mahmoodabad (1879-1931) belonged to Mahmoodabad, district Sitapur, *Taluqdar* of *Awadh*. Led a Muslim delegation over the Kanpur Mosque agitation, 1913. He was the President of the All India Muslim League, 1915-19. He was forefront of Sir Syed’s mission of Aligarh Movement. He became first Vice Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University, 1920. See details Shan Muhammad, *Education and Politics from Sir Syed to the Present Day : The Aligarh School*, New Delhi, A.P.H. Publishing House, 2002; Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada (ed.), *Foundation of Pakistan : All India Muslim League Documents*, vol. I (1906-1924), New Delhi, Metropolitan Book Co. 1982; Shah, S.Y., *Higher Education and Politics in Colonial India: A Study of Aligarh Muslim University (1875-1920)*, Delhi, Renaissance, 1996.

stopped publication under the 'Press Act' was allowed to address the meeting though he had been forbidden by the College staffs to enter the college. The 'loyalist' party as they were termed, were hissed and hooted whenever they tried to speak and the scene was described as one of unmeasured storm (*tufan-i-be-tamizi*). The result was the carrying of a large number of resolutions by the so-called liberal party comprising Maulana Mohammad Ali, 'Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami',<sup>30</sup> and their friends. They insisted that –

- (i) Powers of affiliation of both school and college be given to the University.
- (ii) The vesting of the Chancellor's powers in the Viceroy and not in the Governor General in council and
- (iii) The retention of the name of the Muslim University Aligarh.<sup>31</sup>

Hasrat and others thought that the Muslims actually needed secondary education. So that they may complete others in trade, business, agriculture and industry. So they thought to establish schools and colleges as best thing. These leaders were demanding an independent Muslim University so that these schools may be affiliated to this University easily. On this issue he was with the Muslim public but the government wanted to give the Muslims and

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30 . Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami (d. 1915). Syed Hasan Bilgrami, half brother of Nawab Imad ul Mulk Syed Husain Bilgrami had medical education, was a linguist, spoke French, German, Persian, Arabic, English and Urdu. He was elected Secretary of All-India Muslim League, march 1908 – February 1910, ex officio member of London Muslim League. He also associated with Sir Syed's Mission of Aligarh Movement. See details, Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundation of Pakistan : All-India Muslim League Documents*, vol. I (1906-1924), New Delhi, Metropolitan Book Co. 1982; Shan Mohammad, *Education and Politics from Sir Syed to the Present Day : The Aligarh School*, New Delhi, A.P.H. Publishing, 2002.

31 Shan Muhammad, *Freedom Movement in India: The Role of Ali Brothers*, New Delhi, Associated Publishing House, 1979, p. 60. Also see, Home Political, October 1913, No. 100-118, Part A, National Archive of India, New Delhi, pp. 185-186.

residential University and conservative leaders of Muslim League were ready to accept it.

To achieve his own type of University, Hasrat tried his best till the last moment. He was of the opinion that Muslims should not accept the charter till the fulfillment of their demands. Till the house arrest of Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Azad, Hasrat's activities were limited to his own circle but after their release, he widened his efforts. He was of the opinion that Muslim should not do anything against the wishes of people. Before the meeting of 'Foundation Committee' at Lucknow 15 October 1915, he travelled all over India and persuaded the masses to attend it.<sup>32</sup>

"It was due to the efforts of Hasrat that his Ahrar (freedom fighter) avoided worst defeat. Though it was rumored that the field was clear so the people of politics would certainly win. But all praise to God, if Hasrat was free, the statesman would not find any chance to dictate their terms."<sup>33</sup>

Weekly report of the Director Criminal Intelligence, Government of India, 16 November, 1915 says –

"Since the publication of the Hindu University Bill there had been much discussion among leading Mohammadans on the question whether they ought to agree to the establishment of the Muslim University on similar terms. Generally speaking, the conservative party was in favour of accepting the Government terms while politicians of the younger schools were opposed to it. Most active among the opponents were Dr. Ansari of Delhi, Abul Kalam Azad,

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32 Arif Hasvi, op.cit., p. 54.

33 Ibid., p. 54.

formerly editor of *Al-Hilal*, and Hasrat Mohani political ex-convict, to whom Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, non interned, lent a passive support. The question was raised at a meeting of the Muslim University Association held at Aligarh on 15<sup>th</sup> October. The opponents of acceptance, apparently thinking they were not strong enough to reject the proposal directly, moved an amendment that the question was a controversial one and be postponed till after the war.”<sup>34</sup>

But when Hasrat was arrested in 1915, there remained none to stop these leaders and the opposite group accepted the Muslim University on the term and conditions of Government.

### 3.5 Freedom Movement and the beginning of the Ist World War

Hasrat was not regular member of the Muslim League but he attended the Session of the Muslim League Session of Bombay in 30 December 1915 to 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1916. Mr. Abdul Husain Adamji Peerbhoy, Chairman of the Reception Committee and Mr. Mazharul Haq<sup>35</sup> was the president.

Before the commencement of the proceeding of the League at Bombay in 1915, gave notice to the chair of his intention to move an adjournment for not taking any resolution save that of loyalty to the ‘crown’. Having finished

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34 Home Political, November 1915, No. 538-542, Part B, National Archive of India, New Delhi, p. 11.

35 . Mazharul Haq (1866-1930) Mazharul Haq, son of Shaikh Ahmadullah, was born in Bahpura, District Patna, on 22 December 1866. He belonged to a wealthy family of landholders and indigo planters. Haq passed the Matriculation examination from the Patna Collegiate School in 1886 and studied short time in Patna and the Canning College, Lucknow. In May, 1887 he proceeded to England where he came in contact with Mahatma Gandhi, Ali Imam and Sachchidananda Sinha. He formed the *Anjuman-i Islam*, a popular society for Indian students in England. He was called to the Bar in 1891, returned home at same year and was appointed a *Munsiff* in Awadh. He participated in the activities of the formation of the League and served it in different capacities. He also presided over its Bombay Session (1915). In all these capacities, he nursed and organized the infant League along healthy, nationalist lines. See for his details, K.K. Dutta, *History of the Freedom Movement in Bihar*, vol. I, II, Patna, Government of Bihar, 1957; Chaudhry, V.C.P., *The Making of Modern Bihar*, Patna, 1964; Sinha, S., *Some Eminent Bihar Contemporaries*, Patna, 1944.



the speech, the President Mazharul Haq asked M.A. Jinnah to move his resolution. But Hasrat Mohani raised a point of order and said that his motion for adjournment must be discussed first. The President thereupon ordered him to sit down and not to dictate the chair. Cries of sit down, sit down were also heard. But at this stage, Moulvi Abdul Rauf Khan, Secretary of *Anjuman-i Zia-ul Islam* of Bombay, who was sitting on a front row rose and shouted that Mohani should be given a chance to speak. He said that the meeting was of Mohammedans and not of Hindus. Then followed some confusion, but peace was soon restored. The President appealed to the audience to believe that he was not acting in a despotic manner.<sup>36</sup>

Moulvi Abdul Rauf was followed by Abdullah Samad Khan, head of the Pathan community and Sardar Suleman Cassim Haji Mitha C.I.E. to the dais. The Pathan leader objected League's proceedings being conducted in English and pleaded its substitution by Urdu or Persian criticizing the participation of Congressmen in the League Session, he charged them for transacting business for the Congress in the name of League. Acrimonious slogans were raised and tumult prevailed. Hasrat Mohani was brought to the dais who explained that it was not advisable to raise the question of Self-Government or reform till the war lasted. Finding themselves helpless to control the furious mob and apprehending the worst, they managed to send the ladies by car through the back door and adjourned the meeting. The next day the League session met in the Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay, under closed door and it was there that M.A.

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36 . Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, (ed.), *Foundation of Pakistan, All India Muslim League Documents*, vol. I (1906-1924), New Delhi, Metropolitan Book Co., 1982, p. 350.

Jinnah was able to move a resolution that a committee be appointed to prepare a scheme of reform for consideration of the British Government.<sup>37</sup>

The Hindus and Muslim intelligentsia as well as the masses, seemingly forgetting their sectarian differences and political goals came together in one way or the other, to participate in a struggle that was immediately directed against the foreign government. The disillusionment of the articulate Muslim classes over British policy both at home and abroad, the closeness of the moderates dominating the Congress and the liberals, increasingly becoming powerful in the League, in their political outlook, the injection of anti-*Britishism* in Muslim politics as a result of the work of the radicals and the steady though gradual work of the radicals and the steady though gradual work of influential sections on both sides of the communal dividing line in genuinely attempting to minimize the areas of social hostility between the two communities and political hostility between their dominant organization.<sup>38</sup>

In 1916 the All India Congress Committee and the representative of the Muslim League met at Calcutta, and discussed the question of Muslim representation at the Legislative Council and the form of representative government to be demanded and took some tentative decisions which were placed next December at the annual sessions of the Congress and the League for ratification. The two bodies met simultaneously at Lucknow, and in their meetings there was a spirit of a complete unity and understanding. This was on the basis not of the fusion of Hindus and Muslims into one political community but because of an agreement to recognize them as two distinct communities and

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37. Shan Muhammad, *The Growth of Muslim Politics in India (1900-1919)*, New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House, 1991, p. 173.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

by proceeding on the basis to confront the British with a united demand for constitutional reforms. A scheme was drawn up and adopted by the Congress and the League. It is known as 'Lucknow Pact' of 1916<sup>39</sup>, and was a landmark in India's political history.<sup>40</sup>

Mazharul Haq, a perfect embodiment of Hindu-Muslim unit, was happy that his cherished object was achieved. Supporting the scheme he said "All my political life, I have been of opinion that our motherland cannot advance without the unity of the Hindus, Musalmans and other races. Having been of this opinion, I have worked for the attainment of that unity and that unity has been achieved this year in this town of Lucknow".<sup>41</sup>

### 3.6 Lucknow Pact :

Lucknow pact was seen by the Muslims and non-Muslims alike as a great victory for national unity against the British authorities, as indeed in some sense it was. Hasrat had been one of those who had worked hard to prepare the ground for this unity. Maulana Mohammad Ali in a subsequent speech

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39 . The Lucknow Pact (1916) said that 'Adequate provision' should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Mohammedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions:

Punjab : One half of the elected Indian Members

United Province : 30 per cent of the elected Indian Members

Bengal : 40 per cent of the elected Indian Members

Bihar : 5 per cent of the elected Indian Members

Central Province : 15 per cent of the elected Indian members.

Madras : 15 per cent of the elected Indian members

Bombay : One third of the elected Indian members.

See for details, B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *The History of the Congress* vol. I, (1885-1935), Allahabad Congress Working Committee, 1935, pp. 211-219.

40 . Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims : A Political History (1858-1947)*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1959, p. 129.

41 . Cf. Shan Muhammad, *op.cit.*, p. 188. *Report of the Thirty First Indian National Congress, 1916*, p. 85. Prof. K.K. Dutta, paying tribute to Mazharul Haq says that he was adorable figure a nationalist with a record of enormous sacrifices and dauntless struggle for the cause of freedom extending for several years. See *History of the Freedom Movement in Bihar* (Published by the Government of Bihar, 1957), vol. I, p. 153.

reviewing the development that led to Lucknow Pact paid tribute to him by name. In his Presidential address to the Congress Session at Kokanada in 1923, he said “By the effective advocacy of Jinnah the forceful, eloquence of the League President and the courageous, persistent efforts of that drawn sword of the Muslim patriots, Hasrat Mohani by the collective effect of all this that unity and understanding was reached which was to bear fruit the following year in the form of historic Lucknow Pact”.<sup>42</sup>

### 3.7 Silk Letter Conspiracy

When after the outbreak of the World War I, in August, 1914, Turkey took the side of Germany. Indian revolutionaries saw British difficulties as their opportunities, and intensified their activities more. The British government in an effort to keep the Muslims of India satisfied, at least for the time being, declared that it had no intention of breaking up the Turkish Empire, but this declaration had little effect. Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi, on the instruction of his mentor *Shaikhul Hind* Maulana Mahmūdul Hasan<sup>43</sup> of Darulul Ulūm, Deoband, went to Kabul to work there with other revolutionaries to form a government of India in exile. A modern scholar is of the view:

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42 . Abdul Wahid Khan, *Musalmanon Ka Isar Aur Azadi Ki Jang*, Lucknow, 1938, p. 89.

43 . Maulana Mahmūd-ul Hasan (1851-1920), known as *Shaikh-ul Hind*, born at Bareilly, educated at Deoband, 1874; after graduation teacher and in 1905 Principal of the *Dar-ul Ulūm*, Deoband. He organized students of Deoband from India, Afghanistan and Turkey in an organization *Jamiat-ul Ansar* under his disciple Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi. In 1916 arrested by Sharif Husain of Mecca and handed over to British; interned at Malta during the war; was interrogated by R. Burn (Chief Secretary of U.P) at Malta and denied all knowledge about the *silk letters* and his being the *Al-Quaid* of the Army of God in the Obaidullah Sindhi's scheme; on his release presided *Jamiat-ul Ulama-i Hind*; inaugurated Jamia Millia Islamia; he was progressive in his political views and supported Indian National Congress and struggle against British imperialism. See for his details, Dutta, V.N. and B.E. Cleghorn (ed.) *A Nationalist Muslim and Indian Politics*, Madras, Macmillan, 1974; Husain Ahmad, *Safar Nama Aaseer-i Malta Hayat-i Mahmūd wa Swanehul Hind*, Delhi Swaraj Press; Robinson, Francis, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces Muslims 1860-1923*, (Reprint), New Delhi, Cambridge University Press, 2008; Roy, Santimoy, *Role of Indian Muslims in the Freedom Movement*, New Delhi, People's Publication House, 1970.

“His programme consisted of bringing the governments of Afghanistan and Iran closer to each other on some workable point of view and seeking the military support of Turkey to attack India through Iran and Afghanistan”.<sup>44</sup>

It is said Obaidullah Sindhi<sup>45</sup> had the full support of the king of Afghanistan, Amanullah Khan<sup>46</sup>, in his activities at Kabul. But the king played the role of a double standard. On the one hand, he gave his blessing to the parallel government of India in exile and at the same time he kept the British agent in Kabul fully informed of his dealing with these people. According to the Government of India's Home Political secret weekly report.

“It is reported from Kabul that the Amir has announced to the members of the German mission that he will not give German any assistance and has directed them to leave the country. The German party is said to have left Kabul on the 22<sup>nd</sup> May. It consisted of some 15 Germans accompanied by 60 or 70 Turks and Persians. The Amir has however detained the Austrians and Indians who arrived in Kabul with the party. The grounds for his envoys whereas the

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44 . Ziyaul Hasan Farooqui, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1963, p. 55.

45. Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi (1872-1944). Born in a Sikh family in 1872 in a village near Sialkot (now in Pakistan), Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi quite early in his life came under the influence of some Muslim theologians at Sialkot and last faith in Hinduism and the Arya Samaj. He was particularly influenced by *Takfat-ul Hind* (written by Obaidullah) so much so that he himself adopted the name after his conversion to Islam in August 1887. He compelled his formal education and remained at Deoband for some years. In 1915 he went to Kabul with a view for making plans for an attack on the N.W. Frontier with the help of Afghanistan, Turkey and Russia. After 1922, when the Khilafat agitation had died down, he became a wanderer. See for his details Abid Husain, S., *The Destiny of Indian Muslims*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1965, Ahmad, Aziz, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan (1857-1964)*, London, Oxford University Press, 1967; Brelvi, S. Altaf Ali, *The Struggle of Muslims in Education*, Aligarh, 1938.

46 . Amanullah Khan (1892-1960). Ruler of Afghanistan who led his country to full independence from British influence. At a time when Britain exercised an important influence on Afghan affairs in his coronation address, Amanullah declared total independence with Britain. This led to war with the British, but fighting was confined to a series of skirmishes between an ineffective Afghan army and a British Indian army exhausted from the heavy demands of World War I. A peace treaty recognizing the independence of Afghanistan was signed at Rawalpindi in August 1919.

Austrians and most of the Indians are escaped prisoners and are being detained by the Amir in accordance with his promises to the British Government. Those who remain in Kabul are being treated more like prisoners than guests and are now looked down upon by the local people".<sup>47</sup>

Maulana Mahmūd-ul Hasan made a comprehensive plan to liberate India with the help of certain independent tribes of Yaghistan and Afghanistan. For this purpose he selected some of the most trusted, faithful and able pupils and sent them to different areas to write out his plan. Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi was asked to go to Kabul and enlist the support of the Amir, his nobles and the countrymen. He left Delhi early in 1915, and reached the Kabul on 15 August, 1915 via Kandhar and established close and cordial contacts with Sardar Nasrullah Khan, Amir Habibullah Khan<sup>48</sup> and his son Sardar Enayatullah Khan. During this time a Turkish German mission was also there on a visit which included Raja Mahendra Pratap<sup>49</sup> and Maulana Barkatullah<sup>50</sup>. They established a

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47. Home Political, June 1916, No. 470-473, Part B, National Archives of India, New Delhi, p. 10.

48. Amir Habibullah Khan (1872-1920). Ruler of Afghanistan from 1901 to 1919. With the outbreak of World War I (1914-18) there was widespread support in Afghanistan of Ottoman Turkey against the British. He however was able to maintain a policy of non-involvement throughout the war. Habibullah's antiwar policy resulted in his unpopularity among the young anti-British elements in the population. In 1919 he was assassinated while on a hunting trip.

49. Raja Mahendra Pratap (1886-19...) was born on 1 December 1886 at Mursan, District Aligarh. His early education was traditional; but later he was sent to study at Government High School Aligarh. After passing his intermediate examination, he left his studies in 1907, to look after the management of the estate. Raja Mahendra Pratap was a patriot full of burning zeal for the freedom of his motherland. A staunch nationalist and a firm believer in Hindu-Muslim unity, he considered their differences to be the creation of the British. He went to Germany in 1914 and then passing through Turkey he reached Afghanistan in 1915. He worked as the leader of the group of Indian revolutionary leaders in Kabul. He set up a Provisional Government of free India with himself as the President and Maulana Barkatullah as the Prime Minister. Later he worked in co-operation with the Hindustan Ghadar Party in the United State of America which sent him to Tibet (1926) to organize a rebellion against the British. See for his details, Mahendra Pratap, *My Life Story of Fifty Five Years* (Reprint), Delhi, Originals, 2004; Private Paper of Raja Mahendra Pratap in Private Archives in National Archives of India, New Delhi, also see Native Newspapers Reports of United Province, 1923-26.

50. Maulana Barkatullah (1859-1927). Very little is known about Barkatullah's birth and early life and also about his family background. He was an inhabitant of Bhopal. In his early youth he went from Bhopal to England for his education. Indian revolutionaries who were active there at the opening of the 20th century and was imbued with a strong nationalist spirit. He came back to

Provisional Government of India with Raja Mahendra Pratap as President and Maulana Hasrat Mohani as Lt. General.<sup>51</sup>

The associates and workers of Shaikhul Hind Maulana Mahmoodul Hasan, in fact organized and established quite different organization called *Junaid-i Rabbania*. This was a revolutionary Muslim Army for the liberation of India and Hasrat Mohani was appointed as one of its Lieutenant General.<sup>52</sup>

An important information in Government of India's secret weekly report was found which said that "An Urdu translation of Bernhadi's book 'German and the Next War' from advertisement in vernacular press it appears that Fazlul Hasan Hasrat Mohani of Aligarh is bringing out an Urdu translation of Bernhadi's book. As Hasrat Mohani is notorious for his anti-British leanings and has served a term of imprisonment for publishing seditious articles his motives for translating this book are liable suspicious".<sup>53</sup>

Hasrat became a front-rank leader of all India fame, and commanded great respect and love of all communities. He was one of the most outstanding members of the revolutionary wing of the Congress, and his position among the Muslim leaders of Northern India was unique. At the commencement of the war the Government of India had promulgated Defence of India Act to meet

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India with a fiery zeal for securing the freedom of the country from foreign rule. Barkatullah came to be actively associated with the Ghadar Party. After the outbreak of World War I, he crossed over to Europe and joined the Indo-German Mission to Istanbul (Turkey) in 1915. The Mission proceeded to Afghanistan and formed an Azad Indian Government with the co-operation of Raja Mahendra Pratap and Maulana Obaidullah. The Afghanistan Government, under pressure from the British, withdrew its help; the Mission was closed down and Barkatullah left Germany. See for his details, Haq, Mushirul, *Muslim Politics in Modern India (1857-1947)*, Meerut, Meenakshi Prakashan, 1970; Mian, Syed Mohammad (ed.), *Tehrik-i Shaikh-ul Hind: Angrezi Sarkar Ki Zaban Meih Reshmi Khutut Shazish Case Aur Kaun Kya Tha*, Delhi, 1975.

51. K.H. Qadiri, *Hasrat Mohani*, Delhi, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1985, p. 177.

52. Ibid., p. 177.

53. Home Political, November, 1915, No. 538-542, Part B, National Archives of India, New Delhi, p. 15.

any emergency .A number of prominent leaders both Hindus and Muslims had been arrested and put behind the bars. One aspect of his activities had been the campaign for a Muslim University Aligarh, when he was arrested on 13th April, 1916. The Government of India in its Criminal Intelligence Office report said “On the 1<sup>st</sup> April the District Magistrate Aligarh received important information from reliable source about Hasrat Mohani, which was reported to the U.P. Government on 2<sup>nd</sup> April .On the 17<sup>th</sup> April, the U.P. Government decided to intern him .On the 13<sup>th</sup> April, 1916 Hasrat Mohani was arrested .On the 27<sup>th</sup> April, the U.P. C.I.D. sent me a copy of a Para to appear in the next police secret”.<sup>54</sup>

### **3.8 Second Imprisonment**

Biographers of Hasrat Mohani generally believe that he was arrested on May 1916. But it is not correct. Hasrat Mohani wrote a letter to his spiritual guide. We come across a letter of Begum Hasrat Mohani which was written to Maulana Abdul Bari Firangi Mahli on 14<sup>th</sup> April, 1916. In this letter, she described the story of pain and suffering of Maulana in jail. She said that house and the shop were searched by police. But there was no question of anything being found. She wrote that they took a lot of papers from the house. She felt grief about her husband's arrest and the next step of the police. She also disclosed her husband's weak financial condition. She informed her spiritual chief, Abdul Bari Firangi Mahli, about the runner that this arrest of her husband was on hint of Dr. Ziauddin because he had vehemently criticized the latter's pro-British attitude in the meeting of the proposed Muslim University

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54 . Home Political, June 1916, No. 23, Part Deposit, National Archives of India, New Delhi, p. 3.



Foundation Committee held on 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1916 in Lucknow<sup>55</sup>. It therefore, appears that Hasrat was arrested second time between 10<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> April, 1916.

The confidential report from Nainital (the summer capital of the United Province) to the W. Wheeler, Secretary to the Government of India, reveals that his second arrest took place on 13<sup>th</sup> April, 1916. The report runs : (1) Hasrat Mohani, a big Zamindar and trustee of the M.A.O. College, visited the Collector of Aligarh, and told him that on March 31<sup>st</sup>, Fazlul Hasan came to his house and asked for money .He said that Sir Fazallbhoy Currimbhoy had given him Rs 2000/ and somebody else Rs 600/. He added that he wished to close his cloth and book business and go to Kabul .In this connection he produced a packet of papers and showed the Honorary Magistrate a letter from Barkatullah, addressed from Kabul and a photo of a *fatwa* of the *Shaikh-ul Islam*. The *fatwa* drew the attention of the state about affairs in Europe and advised Mohammadans to unite against Europeans. The letter from Barkatullah appeared to be an account of his journey from Japan to America, from America to Germany and from Germany to Kabul on a deputation. It contained a general invitation to come to Kabul and was not addressed to anyone in particular. Mention was also made of the fact that a Raja was with Barkatullah. Fazlul Hasan said that the man who brought these papers had taken similar papers to Abul Kalam at Calcutta. Fazlul Hasan had also learned from the messenger that the Raja, whose name was not mentioned in the letter, was Mahendra Partap Singh of Mursan. The impression which the honorary magistrate obtained was

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55 Ateeq Siddiqui (ed.), *Begum Hasrat Mohani Aur Unke Khutut*, New Delhi, Maktaba Jamia Limited, 1981, pp. 54-55

that Fazlul Hasan believed that trouble was being worked from Kabul and that when it began in India, all would be arrested at once. Fazlul Hasan said that a similar letter had been sent to Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali and that was why they have been interned. He made no attempt to persuade the honorary magistrate to his views; but only mentioned the business as private one affecting his own safety.

(ii) That the report forwarded through the Commissioner reached the Government on April 6<sup>th</sup>. The Lieutenant Governor at once agreed to a search of Fazlul Hasan's house and the issue of order of internment. Telegraphic order were issued to Aligarh but it was then discovered that Hasrat Mohani had gone to Badaun and it was believed he was going to Lucknow where meeting in connection with Mohammadan University was about to take place. His Honour decided that no action should be taken while Fazlul Hasan was in Lucknow, but orders were issued to his arrest. Accordingly, he was arrested on April 13<sup>th</sup>, 1916. The *fatwa* and letters were not found, and nothing of a treasonable nature was recovered.

(iii) That on his arrest Fazlul Hasan asked permission to see Nawab Muzammilullah Khan Bahadur<sup>56</sup>, a big *Zamindar* of Aligarh who had from time to time, acted as Secretary of the M.A.O. College. The Nawab declined to see him; but sent a message saying that he could do nothing, and had Fazlul Hasan followed his advice he would not have got into this trouble. Fazlul Hasan at Aligarh declined to obey the order of internment. On his arrival at

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56 . Nawab Muzammilullah Khan worked as Joint Secretary of the M.A.O. College Trustees, from 1899 to 1918. He also worked as Secretary during Nawab Viqarul Mulk's illness from 1910 to 1913. In 1918 he was elected Vice President of the Board Trustees. He played a very important role in the struggle of Aligarh Movement.

Lalitpur, he had again declined to comply the orders. As his object was plainly to pose as a martyr, and from a statement which he sent up he professed to believe that he was being charged with some offence, orders were issued that his position should again be stated to him . He professed himself possibly willing to submit to internment at Aligarh if Government would formally declare that he was innocent of any offence and would give him a promise of decent treatment. He was told that the order directing him to reside at Lalitpur would not be altered and that if he did not submit to the orders passed he would be prosecuted. He was also informed that he might see legal advisers and that, if he desired it, his family would be sent to him.

(iv) Subsequently Fazlul Hasan asked for an interview with the Lieutenant Governor before accepting the order of internment unconditionally. He then sent a telegram explaining that his refusal was based on conscientious grounds and was not in a spirit of defiance. He professed to be willing to be interned at Aligarh if no mention was made of any offence in the order of internment and he was allowed to earn his own living by publishing a biographical dictionary of Urdu poets and if he received compensation sufficient to cover the loss of his business. The Lieutenant Governor declined to enter upon any bargaining of this sort. As Fazlul Hasan has not submitted to the order, he was called on by the Joint Magistrate to show-cause why he should not be prosecuted. The question of a prosecution has been left to the discretion of the District Magistrate.

(v) Some correspondence between Fazlul Hasan and Maulana Mohammad Ali had been intercepted which showed that Fazlul Hasan's objections professed to

be mainly based on religious scruples, and in particular that he declined to accept any allowance which might be construed as charitable.

(vi) Fazlul Hasan's earlier history as a political agitator was well known to the government of India. He was restless, dangerous, unscrupulous creature; and that Lieutenant Governor had long been watching for an opportunity to arrest him. The evidence on this occasion was irreproachable, and it was clearly necessary to prevent the man from attempting to join the group which was trying to stir up trouble against the Government in Afghanistan.

When a search of Hasrat Mohani's house was done the following things were found

1. A curious letter dated 9-3-1916 from a person giving his address as H.L.Verma, political pensioner, no.559, Central Jail, Coimbatore.
2. Picture post card of Mohammad Ali and his family and a lot of correspondence showing that persons were writing to him.
3. A packet of picture post cards of Mohammad Ali and his family sent to some one which was returned undelivered.
4. A letter dated 15<sup>th</sup> March 1916 from Abul Kalam showing that he was his personal friend.
5. A photo of Abul Kalam.
6. Pamphlet 'some candid impression of England by a German' reprinted for National Review.
7. 36 bonds (appeared to be Turkish War bonds).

8. A letter from a Calcutta correspondent saying that Mohammedans should give their money to Turkey and should not waste it on University campaign.

There are many letters (some from prominent people) relating to the events at the Muslim Conference at Bombay and the recent University Foundation meeting at Lucknow. Some of these urged him to behave at Lucknow as he had at Bombay.<sup>57</sup>

There is another letter of Begum Hasrat Mohani, written to same Abdul Bari Firangi Mahli on 19<sup>th</sup> April, 1916 in which she expressed her extreme distress to know that her husband had been sent to some other place.<sup>58</sup>

In fact he had been shifted from Aligarh jail to Lalitpur where he was kept under house-arrest. A confidential report from Nainital to the Secretary, Government of India, says : "In continuation of my D.O. No. 830-c dated 24<sup>th</sup> May 1916, I am desired to say that Fazlul Hasan has now been convicted and sentenced two years simple imprisonment under rule 5 of the Defence of India (Consolidation )Rule . He was charged with disobeying the order of internment in three respects namely.

- (a) Failing to report himself at the police station on a specific date.
- (b) Posting letters without allowing to *Kotwal* to examine them .and
- (c) Departing outside municipal limits".<sup>59</sup> The Government wanted an undertaking from Hasrat that he would not leave the Municipal boundaries of

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57 . Home Political, June 1916, No. 23, Part Deposit, National Archives of India, New Delhi, pp. 7-11. Famous Urdu weekly the *Madina* of Bijnore also given the same date, i.e. 13th April, 1916. (See, *Madina*, Urdu weekly, Bijnore, 1st May, 1916, cited in Ateeq Siddiqui (ed.), *Begum Hasrat Mohani Aur Unke Khutut*, New Delhi, Jamia Maktaba Ltd., 1981, p. 53.

58 . Ateeq Siddiqui, op.cit., p. 55.

59 . Home Political, June 1916, No. 23, Part, Deposit, National Archives of India, New Delhi, p. 16.

Lalitpur but he was not prepared to give the undertaking .All his well wishers and friends were of the opinion that it would be far better to accept internment rather than go to prison. Hasrat's spiritual guide Maulana Abdul Bari Firangi Mahli for whom he had greatest respect and regard, also accepted the easier and lighter situation, quoting from *Hadis* that the easier path should be chosen. But Hasrat did not listen to anyone. He refused to obey the orders of the Government and was prepared to face trial imprisonment. Begum Hasrat Mohani writes to Maulana Abdul Bari on 29<sup>th</sup> April, 1916 : "I have written to Hasrat that he should accept the situation which is permitted by the *Shariat*. Let us see what comes out of his excessive zeal".<sup>60</sup>

Hasrat was determined, as ever, not to surrender to the forces of evil. For him the hardship of imprisonment was better than the restricted freedom. He wanted to pacify his sympathizers to show that he was not unnecessarily adamant. So he also quoted several Quranic Verses the Prophetic Tradition (the *Hadis*) in his own support. Even in a letter written to his wife on 26<sup>th</sup> April, Hasrat wrote: "You have written that I should accept internment. And this seems at first sight reasonable. But I sought guidance from the *Holy Quran*. After reading the *Surah : Infal*<sup>61</sup>, my heart was further strengthened and I took an oath not to bow down my head in supplication before tyranny. There is nothing to worry about. In the end we shall succeed by the grace of Allah, (*Amen*). Now find out about your affair, I will never, accept the orders of the Government .Let me be brought to trial. By the Grace of Allah, I shall give an effective reply. After that even if I am imprisoned it does not matter".<sup>62</sup>

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60 . Ateeq Siddiqui, op.cit., p. 60.

61 . *Holy Quran*, Chapter IX, Sura No. 8.

62 . Ateeq Siddiqui, op.cit., pp. 58-61.

In another letter written to his wife from Lalitpur dated 18<sup>th</sup> May 1916, Hasrat writes : “You ask me why I have preferred imprisonment to internment. I did not explain this earlier, thinking it would be an encroachment upon your time. Now I shall explain. As the Defence of India Act was prepared in haste, there are a number of short-comings in it. I want to take advantage of this .The crux of the matter is that under this act my trial cannot be held in any Magistrate’s Court. Either it must be held in the High Court, or Sir James Meston will have to get the permission of the Governor-General, to enforce nine sections of the Defence of India Act in the United Provinces or wherever my trial is to be held. Because in the U.P. only two sections of this Act have been enforced as yet. Without enforcement of these seditions, even the Lt. Governor cannot do anything. After this, it is true, he can appoint special Commissioners, who will be appointed specially for my trial. Suppose all my presumptions are proved wrong, and I am sentenced to hard labour, then I shall have to withstand hardship. But to save myself from this hardship I cannot give up my principle that I must resist injustice to the extent of my powers and that to tolerate it impermissible”.<sup>63</sup>

Hasrat refused to accept the order for his internment, but the Magistrate allowed him privately to stay in Lalitpur for a few days and to correspond with the higher authorities regarding his internment .Nothing however, was achieved and his trial began in Lalitpur in 15<sup>th</sup> May, 1916 .“Yesterday that is on 15<sup>th</sup> May, 1916 my trial began. But I put forward initial objections that trial could not be held here, it should be held in Aligarh. In Lalitpur did not support to me

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63 . Ibid., pp. 66-67.

neither financial nor legal that reason this trial not held there.<sup>64</sup> Thank God, apparently succeeded. The Magistrate could not do anything. For consultant and advice he has sent the papers to Jhansi or some where else. May he be successful”.<sup>65</sup>

But his hopes were not fulfilled. Hasrat's demand was that he should be charged-sheeted and should be allowed to stay in Aligarh. He was prepared to accept the internment order if he were allowed to stay in Aligarh. But the Government paid no attention to this demand. This time Hasrat's arrest unlike that of 1908 created a great stir. At several places protest meetings were held at Mathura, Faizabad, Meerut, Hyderabad, Sindh, Delhi, Calcutta, Sultanpur, Basti, Kanpur, Aligarh, Lucknow, Allahabad, Moradabad, and Agra etc. to condemn the Government's orders. Beside these cities, meetings were held at various other places also.<sup>66</sup>

It was during the second internment of Hasrat Mohani that Abdul Latif Ahmad, Chairman, Reception Committee of the tenth session of All-India Muslim League, held at Calcutta, 30 December, 1917 to January 1, 1918 said:

“I can not pass on in silence over the case of Hasrat Mohani, who was given signal proof of courage, of a devotion to duty and honesty of purpose of which every Musalman ought to be proud. He is another of those brilliant leaders of our community who by sheer merit, strength of character and steadfast devotion to the cause of the country and the community, have covered themselves with undying glory and renown. At a time when the whole of

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64 . Ibid., p. 66-67.

65 . Ibid., p. 68.

66 . Arif Hasvi, *Halat-i Hasrat*, (Reprint) Karachi, Maulana Hasrat Mohani Memorial Library and Hall Trust, 1993, p. 66.



Muslim India was filled with bitter feeling of hostility towards the Hindus, it was he, who dreamt of a Hindu Muslim unity and persisted in teaching the doctrine of co-operation with the advancing communities of India for the common good of our motherland. Like many other leaders, it was not long before he was interned. Restrictions were placed on his movements; but he refused to admit the legality of these restrictions on the ground that they were passed under an Act which he did not admit to be either just or proper. He purposely disobeyed the orders passed against him; and he was prosecuted and placed on trial. When brought before the court, he freely admitted having broken the conditions imposed upon him under the Defence of India Act, and instead of defending himself, he expressed his willingness to go to jail rather than repent his conduct".<sup>67</sup>

In this session the League passed resolution that urging strongly upon the Government to set free Maulana Mahmūd-ul Hasan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Hasrat Mohani and all Muslim internees who had unjustly been deprived of their liberties, and to remove the great discontent prevailing in the Muslim community in consequence of internments.<sup>68</sup>

At the same time, Begum Hasrat Mohani continued her efforts against this imprisonment of her husband. He made a representation to the Lieutenant Governor, but in vain. The Indian newspapers wrote strong notes about Hasrat's imprisonment, but to no effect. It seems that the Government became more and more adamant. Hasrat was first kept in Lalitpur and later on transferred to Jhansi Jail. On this occasion he composed the verse :

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67 . Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *op.cit.*, p. 404.

68 . *Ibid.*, p. 438.

حسرت آئے گی تسلی کو یہاں روح شمیم  
قید ہوئے ہیں جھانسی جو للت پور سے

Hasrat! The spirit of Shamim<sup>69</sup> will come here to console me,  
As we have come in imprisonment to Jhansi from Lalitpur.<sup>70</sup>

After some time, the government again became uneasy, and he was transferred from Jhansi to Allahabad Jail where he was treated very harshly. According to a letter of Begum Hasrat, writes to Abdul Bari Firangi Mahli, from Aligarh on 26th November, 1916. "On the 7th *Moharram*<sup>71</sup>, all of a sudden the Jailor in Allahabad Jail manhandled him. He forcibly took away his essential things like jug (*lota*), shoes, and so on. Hasrat has never been violated the jail regulations. He was allowed to keep such things in Jhansi Jail and up to now in Allahabad also. But the Jailor told him very clearly that he was compelled to treat him harshly. As the Jailor was a Muslim, he did not want that there should be some sort of confidential report against him that being a Muslim he was giving concessions to a Muslim prisoner, so that his job might not be effected. He said this despite the fact that had not made any relaxation to him. Even the food he gave him millet mix soil bread which is extremely bad for Hasrat's kidney pain. Thus Hasrat has also taken a promise, nothing that this contention started on 7th *Muharram*, he has resolved that if the Jailor was bent upon tyranny, i.e. the act of *Yazid*, he too was ready to follow the example of Imam Husain without caring for consequences. He had started *Roza*, he ate nothing except water, and continued *Roza* for five days till 11th *Moharram*. All these facts were told to me by a gentleman of Allahabad".<sup>72</sup>

69 . Abdullah Khan Shamim of Banda, a friend of Hasrat Mohani buried at Jhansi.

70 . Hasrat Mohani, *Kulliyat-i Hasrat Mohani*, (Reprint) Delhi, Nomani Publishing House, 1977, p. 177.

71 . First month of Arabic calander.

72 . Ateeq Siddiqui, op.cit., pp. 58-61.

In Allahabad Jail, Hasrat stayed for some times and soon he was sent to Partapgarh Jail. There too, he was subjected to harsh treatment. And very soon he was shifted to Faizabad Jail. On that place Hasrat took an oath and made Faizabad Jail a spiritual and political *madarsa* as appears from his following famous verse :

درسِ حق جاری ہے یاں بھی حسرتِ آزاد کا  
قید خانہ مدرسہ ہے گویا فیض آباد کا

Hasrat the free continues teaching the truth even here;  
It is as though the prison of Faizabad has become a school.<sup>73</sup>

Abdul Latif Ahmad in his speech, as quoted above, mentions : “He was sent to jail at Faizabad; and then comes one of the most touching episodes in his life. His health broke down in the Faizabad jail, and his wife sent a petition to Government praying that he might be transferred to the Aligarh Jail, where the climate suited him better”.<sup>74</sup>

Hasrat had not long been in Faizabad Jail when he was again transferred. This time he was sent to Lucknow Jail. He had very soft corner for Lucknow .It was the seat of Firangi Mahel and the residence of his spiritual guide, Maulana Abdul Bari Firangi Mahli, whose father Shah Abdur Razzaq was buried there. When Hasrat was transferred to Lucknow, he was brought in a closed carriage and no one was allowed to visit him or to contact him. Thus he had no means of knowing where he was being taken. But he tells us that at night he saw Shah Abdur Razzaq in a dream and spiritually came to know that he was in

73 . Hasrat Mohani, op.cit., p. 200.

74 . Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, op.cit., p. 404.

Lucknow. He has written several verses in his praise expressing his satisfaction at being near him.<sup>75</sup>

اک خلش ہوتی ہے محسوسِ رگِ جاں کے قریب  
آن پہنچے ہیں منزلِ جاناں کے قریب  
لکھنؤ آنے کا باعث یہ کھلا آخر کار  
کھینچ لایا ہے دل اک شاہدِ رعنا کے قریب

A kind of sentiments is felt near the vein of life;  
Perhaps I have approached the place of beloved!

The reason of arriving at Lucknow was revealed at least,  
The heart has dragged me upto a hidden beloved.<sup>76</sup>

Very soon he was again transferred from Lucknow Jail to Faizabad. During 1917, there were rumours that some political prisoners would be freed. Hasrat composed couplet on 13th September, 1917 in Faizabad Jail.<sup>77</sup>

ہر چند کہ میں خلافتِ جمہور نہیں  
تقلیدِ عوامِ دل کو منظور نہیں  
نزدیک ہے یہ کہ سب نظر بند چھٹیں  
ایسے میں نہ چھوٹوں میں کچھ دور نہیں

Though I am not opposed to the mass of the people;  
Yet I do not like to follow the general pattern.

It is quite likely that all the interness will soon be freed;  
But if I am not freed, there is no surprise.<sup>78</sup>

75 . Arif Hasvi, op.cit., pp. 70-72.

76 . Hasrat Mohani, op.cit., p. 231.

77 . Ibid., pp. 237-238.

78 . Ibid., p. 250.

All these difficulties and trouble apart, Begum Hasrat Mohani carried on her efforts to get the Maulana freed from imprisonment. In one of her letter dated 5.6.1916, she seeks the guidance and help of her as well as her husband's mentor Abdul Bari Firangi Mahli regarding Hasrat's trial. She also consulted Barristers like Tez Bahadur Sapru<sup>79</sup> of Allahabad. But he refused to plead for her husband's case and returned all document after some excuse. There she approached Sir Shah Sulaiman. Though the latter, after going through the papers, predicted a sure success, yet, on account of his personal problems, he could not go to Jhansi as an advocate on behalf of Hasrat Mohani. Likewise, any other lawyer also could not be ready to be present in the court in Jhansi on Hasrat's behalf and the latter had to stay there longer.<sup>80</sup> She also made contact with Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad who extended his full cooperation and sent a Barrister from Calcutta to Jhansi with hundred rupees before 1st July but he too could not reach Jhansi<sup>81</sup>. In the meantime a lawyer of district Hardoi, Syed Afzal Husain reached Jhansi with the intention to plead Hasrat's case. He stayed there for more than a week but ultimately due to heavy pressure and threat of local police and higher authorities of the district, he too had to leave Jhansi unsuccessfully.<sup>82</sup>

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79 . Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (1875-1949). Tej Bahadur Sapru was born in a family of Kashmiri Brahmans at Aligarh. After early education in Mathura, he joined the Agra College securing both in the B.A. and in the M.A. Qualifying himself for the Bar, he practiced for two years after taking his LL.B. degree in the District Court of Moradabad. He decided then to move to Allahabad for practice in the High Court. In 1907 he entered in active politics and joined the moderate section of the Congress. He became interested in the newly started daily, the Leader, and sometimes wrote editorials for the paper. The political awakening in the U.P. Sapru was one of the first to join Mrs. Besant's 'Home Rule League' in 1917, in protest against her internment. See for his details, B.D. Shukla, *A History of the Indian Liberal Party*, Allahabad, The Indian Press Publication, 1960; H.N. Mittra (ed.), *The Indian Annual Register*, New Delhi, Gian Publishing House, 1990.

80 . Ateeq Siddiqui, op.cit., p. 75.

81 . Ibid., p. 79.

82 . Arif Hasvi, op.cit., pp. 82-83.

Hasrat's case was heard on 1st July, 1916 but his appeal was rejected the same day within minutes. He was convicted and sentenced to two years simple imprisonment under the Defence of India Act.<sup>83</sup>

Several public meetings were held, and resolutions were passed and articles were published in newspapers in favour of Hasrat Mohani, but no change occurred in Government policy. Ultimately, the non-Government Hindu and Muslim members of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces met and submitted memorial to the Lieutenant Governor, Sir James Meston. They prayed him to show leniency and release Hasrat Mohani. But for the first three or four months, no attention was paid by the Governor to this appeal. He was several times reminded through different newspapers. But there was not yet any positive result. Finding themselves unsuccessful, these honourable non-Government members decided to raise matter in the Legislative Council. One of them Mr. Chintamani asked a question in the Council about Hasrat's release. He asked the Government as to what action had been taken in this regard.<sup>84</sup> Pandit Gokaran Nath Mishra also asked two questions related to Hasrat. His first query was about the first memorial whereas the second one was concerned with the difficulties under the Defence of India regarding the release of Hasrat Mohani from the Jail.<sup>85</sup>

Hasrat's health was causing general concern. His rapid transfer from jail to jail had weakened his nerves. It appeared he generally remained ill during the imprisonment. According to a letter of his wife written to Maulana Abdul

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83 . Home Political, August 1916, No. 11, Part, Deposit National Archives of India, New Delhi, pp. 3-6. See Appendix No. III.

84 . Arif Hasvi, op.cit., pp. 69-70.

85 . Ibid., p. 70.

Bari on 18<sup>th</sup> May, 1917: “Hasrat is still ill and medicine prescribed by Ajmal Khan has been sent to him but it has produced a little effect. Something wrong continues with him”.<sup>86</sup>

Hasrat had no rest inspite of the decision of the court. He was put as we have seen, in Lalitpur Jail, then Jhansi, then Faizabad and later in Meerut. His restlessness clearly reveals from his following verse :

کیا اب وہ نادم ہیں اپنے جور کی روداد سے  
لائے ہیں میرٹھ جو آخر فیض آباد سے

Are they repenting now of the tale of their tyranny;  
That they have brought me now to Merrut from Faizabad Jail?<sup>87</sup>

Several other Hindu and Muslim leaders were also interned at this time, but no one was shunted about in this way. Hasrat was clearly treated as an exceptionally dangerous prisoner, and one who would perhaps attempt to escape. The newspapers repeatedly urged the Government to give up the policy of rapid transfers and allow him to stay in Aligarh.<sup>88</sup> It was in February, 1918 that the Lieutenant Governor Sir James Meston was to go back home. The newspapers once again reminded him about Hasrat’s case. The public at large was waiting for his reaction, when a communiqué was issued saying that the Government had offered to release Hasrat on certain conditions. But Hasrat had refused to accept the offer. People were somewhat perplexed at this announcement. In accordance with report the Chief Secretary of the United Provinces to the Secret, Home Department Government of India, No. 1011, dated 13<sup>th</sup> May, 1918: “The Lieutenant-Governor was of the opinion that the

86 . Home Political, June 1917, No. 41, Part, Deposit, National Archives of India, New Delhi, p. 2.

87 . Hasrat Mohani, op.cit., p. 250.

88 . Arif Hasvi, op.cit., p. 79.

cases of Hazrat (Hasrat) Mohani do not call for reconsideration at present. The case of the former was recently examined in another connection and in Sir James DuBoulay's secret demi-official no 527 Political, of the 5th March 1918, the Government of India expressed agreement with the view that he should not be released from confinement. As regards Fazlul Hasan alias Hazrat (Hasrat) Mohani, I am invited a reference to Mr Burn's letter no 850-C, dated the 29th May 1916. A petition for his release was presented in December last to Sir James Meston. Sir James Meston considered that this man was quite as dangerous as the Ali brothers and more courageous than they in the method of his treason. He was unable, accordingly, to consent to his release, but was prepared to remit the balance of the sentence of imprisonment imposed on him for refusing to obey the orders under the Defence of India Act, requiring him to reside at Lalitpur, on condition that he resided at Kithore in the Meerut district, under restrictions, to be imposed under the Defence of India Act. This offer Fazul Hasan alias Hazrat (Hasrat) Mohani declined to accept on the ground that his conscience did not permit him to obey any orders under the Defence of India Act which inflicted penalties on him for some unknown and unspecified offence. Sir Harcourt Butler entirely concurs in Sir James Meston's view of Fazlul Hasan's character and potentialities, and the District Magistrate of Meerut was accordingly requested to serve him, on release from jail on the 22nd May, with orders under the Defence of India Act, requiring him to reside at Kithore in the Meerut district. A copy of these orders is enclosed. On this date, however, a telegram was received from his legal advisor intimating that Hasrat Mohani would be willing to reside at Kithore under police surveillance if no internment orders were passed under the Defence of India Act. As it was



considered desirable to avoid, if possible, the institution of another prosecution, the District Magistrate was instructed that if Hazrat (Hasrat) Mohani agreed to reside at Kithore under the conditions specified in the orders under the Defence of India Act, these orders need not be served, or if served, should be treated as cancelled. He was further directed to inform Hazrat Mohani that a breach of any of the conditions in these orders would necessitate the issue of orders under the Defence of India Act. Before, however, these instructions reached the Magistrate, the orders under the Defence of India Act had already been read out to Hazrat (Hasrat) Mohani. Hazrat (Hasrat) Mohani declined to accept a copy of the orders, but departed quietly for Kithore. He has since been informed of the orders of the local Government above referred to. The position now, accordingly, is that Hazrat (Hasrat) Mohani is residing at Kithore under police surveillance, but is not technically subject to any orders under the Defence of India Act. Should he attempt to leave Kithore (which is unlikely and would not be easy) he will be arrested under rule 124-A, and orders of internment under the Defence of India Act will then be passed.

### **Order under the Defence of India Act, 1915**

“Where in the opinion of the Government of the United Provinces there are reasonable grounds for believing that Faz-ul Hasan *alis* Hazrat (Hasrat) Mohani has acted in a manner prejudicial to the public safety.

“The Lieutenant –Governor in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the rules made by the Governor General in pursuance of section 2 of the Defence of India (Criminal Law Amendment) Act, 1915, published in the Government of India’s notification no. 1196, dated Simla, the 2<sup>nd</sup> April, 1915,

is pleased in supersession of the order, dated the 15th April, 1916, to issue the following order in respect of the said Fazul Hasan.

### **Order**

Fazlul Hasan alis Hazrat (Hasrat) Mohani, caste Musalman, at present confined in the district jail at Meerut.

1. "You are hereby directed to accept forthwith to Kithore in the Meerut district, and to report yourself to the officer in -charge of the police station of that place.
2. "You shall reside until further orders within the limits of the town of Kithore in premises to be approved by the Magistrate of the district.
3. "You are prohibited from leaving the said limits without the previous permission in writing of the said District Magistrate or other person authorized by him in this behalf.
4. "You shall report yourself , personally once a day between the hours of 10 A.M. and 5P.M. to the officer-in-charge of the aforesaid police station unless prevented by severe illness or other serious infirmity , in which case you shall give immediate information to such officer of your inability to report yourself .
5. "You are prohibited from leaving or receiving visitors at the premises in which you are required to reside between sunset and sunrise.
6. "You shall have no conversation with any person who is not a resident of the Kithore town except with the permission of the District Magistrate.

7. "You shall report to the officer for the time being in charge of the foresaid police station the names of all visitors to your residence (other than persons residing within the limits of the aforesaid town) and the name of all persons other than persons so residing with whom you hold communication (otherwise than by letter) through another person within three hours of such persons leaving your residence or of your residence or of your holding or receiving such communication as the case may be.
8. "You shall without delay deliver unopened all telegrams, postal articles, or communication of any kind which arrive to your address, to the officer in charge of the said police station. You are also prohibited from entering into written correspondence with any persons unless such correspondence has been previously examined by such officer.
9. "You shall at all times allow free access to the premises in which you are required to reside to the officer for the time being in charge of the said police station and to any Magistrate of the district , or to any officer superior in rank to such police officer or to such Magistrate.
10. "If any knowingly disobey any direction in this order you will be liable upon conviction to imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years and also to fine".<sup>89</sup>

In the mean time Begum Hasrat wrote to Maulana Abdul Bari on 23rd February, 1917 that she had received a letter of her husband from the Meerut Jail that the Superintendent of Police of Meerut came to him with a lawyer and *told that the Government had agreed to release him from Meerut Jail on*

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89 . Home Political, June 1919, No. 517-525, Part A, National Archives of India, New Delhi, pp. 5-8.

condition that he (Hasrat) would agree to stay at a bungalow near the road in Kithore in the district Meerut, and to comply with all the restrictions of internment. A list of conditions was also given to him. He further wrote that they brought a conveyance with them in case he choose to go to Kithore. But Maulana Hasrat did not agree and gave them a negative reply. He said to the Police Officer as follows : "I still stand firmly by my statements of 1916. My conscience does not allow me to abide by any order issued under the Defence of India Act, which wants to punish me for some unaccountable and unknown crime which I am sure that I have not committed, and furthermore does not give me a chance to defend myself and to place my case".<sup>90</sup>

It was not surprising that Hasrat refused to accept these conditions. His imprisonment therefore continued. But the period of two years imprisonment was due to end on 22nd May, 1918. But once again the same situation was feared that Government would again at time of his release, serve notice of internment on conditions which Hasrat was sure to refuse and that once again the whole drama would be re-enacted. According to Arif Hasvi "The due date came and in this war of truth and injustice Hasrat behaved as was expected of him. On the expiry of his sentence, the Government released him, but at the same time tried to serve an order of internment. Hasrat flatly refused to accept it. Begum Hasrat, Nawab Ishaq Khan, Mr. Tajuddin, worker of the Central Bureau of the Muslims' Interest, Delhi, had reached Meerut on this occasion to welcome Maulana Hasrat. They tried of their best to persuade Hasrat to agree to stay in Kithore for a few days, so that further negotiation with the

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90 . Ateeq Siddiqui, op.cit., p. 84.

Government could take place. Hasrat, on his own free will, accepted their request”.<sup>91</sup>

The Government acted rather more sensibly this time, and did not insist on imposing the same ludicrous conditions which it had tried to do three months earlier. Hasrat was adamant that he would go and live in Aligarh even if it were only for a few days, and the Government seemed to be equally adamant that it would not allow him to do it. A memorial was therefore sent to Nainital requesting the authorities to allow Hasrat to stay at Aligarh. The Government rejected it, but agreed to allow him to stay at Meerut instead of Kithore. The public now feared a show down with the Government. All the nationalist lawyers and barristers of all-India fame were contacted to prepare for the fight, and the scene was set for legal battle. But the Government agreed to allow Hasrat to stay in his native town Mohan and more ever did not serve notice of internment. Hasrat however was still insistent that he should be allowed to go to Aligarh. Even if it were only for a couple of days .The Government was no less unyielding.<sup>92</sup>

Begum Hasrat wrote to Maulana Bari Firangi Mahli on 30th May 1918 “After his release from Jail internment orders have not been given. But as some conditions are still fulfilled, Hasrat will not come to Aligarh until they are fulfilled. He will stay in Meerut district, but of his own free will. If he is not sent to Aligarh the same old situation will continue and he will again be put on trail. God knows what would happen then. His weight is now only 112 pounds it used to be 155 pounds”.<sup>93</sup>

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91 . Arif Hasvi, op.cit., p. 78.

92 . Ibid., pp. 78-80.

93 . Ateeq Siddiqui, op.cit., pp. 89-91.

In the meantime Mirza Samiullah Beg, a honourable member of the Legislative Council, intervened and used his influence with the Government, and the Government at last yielded and allowed Hasrat to stay at Aligarh for few days. A moment of peace occurred in his life. After staying at Aligarh, he soon left for Mohan where he lived for two or three months. The Government offered him an allowance of one hundred and fifty rupees per months. But he declined to accept. Finally, in December 1918 all formal restrictions were removed and he was free to move about. Thus ended two year sentence<sup>94</sup>

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94 . Arif Hasvi, op.cit., pp. 84-85.

## **Chapter – IV**

### ***Hasrat in Khilafat and Non-cooperation Movement***

## CHAPTER – IV

### HASRAT IN *KHILAFAT* AND NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENTS

After the end of World War I, to pacify the mounting resentment in Indians the Secretary of State, Mr. Montague declared on 20<sup>th</sup> August 1917 that “The policy of His Majesty’s Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire”.<sup>1</sup>

It was thus natural that Indians were hoping that now the war was over done some substantial moves in this direction would be made. Soon after this Mr. Montague came to India, toured the country with the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford and gave their reports.<sup>2</sup> The Congress expressed its satisfaction with the report at its special session held at Bombay on the 29<sup>th</sup> August 1918. The Muslim League, at a mid year session in 1918 not only accepted the scheme with any reservation, but its president even justified the British decision to delay the establishment of responsible government in India.<sup>3</sup> Consequently a new constitution based on this report was passed by the British Parliament called the Government of India Act 1919.

Hasrat Mohani expressed his blunt opinion of these moves in a couplet:

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1. Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims: A Political History (1858-1947)*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1959, p. 133.
  2. Subhash Chandra Bose, *The Indian Struggle (1920-1942)* (compiled), Calcutta, Asia Publishing House, 1964, p. 41.
  3. Ram Gopal, *op.cit.*, p. 133.



کس درجہ فریب سے ہے مملو  
 تجویز ریفارم مانگیو  
 مشہور زمانہ ہے مسلم  
 دستور کے حسب ذیل پہلو  
 قانون پہ اختیار کامل  
 عمل پہ زور زر پہ قابو  
 ہاں میں سے نہ ہو جب ایک کے بھی  
 گل ہائے ریفارم میں کہیں بو  
 مدراس کے ڈاکٹر کا یہ قول  
 کس درجہ ہے دل پذیر و نیکو  
 مقصود ہے یہ کہ صرف تا جنگ  
 ہم سب ہیں صرف ایں بگاڑو  
 اے ہندی سادہ دل  
 ہرگز نہ چلے یہ تجھ پہ جادو  
 کیا پائے گا خاک پھر جب ان سے  
 اس وقت بھی کچھ نہ لے سکا تو

How far is receiptful (full of cheating);  
 The recommendation of the Montague reforms.  
 In the whole of the world;  
 These aspects of the constitution are generally accepted.  
 Complete power over the law;  
 Control over officials, and control over finance.  
 When there is not even a whiff of;  
 Any of these in the flowers of Reforms.

How true and acceptable is;  
 This saying of the Doctor of Madras (Dr. Subramaniam Ayer);  
 That the Government's only intention was to keep all of us busy;  
 Running about while the war lasted.  
 O' simple Indian, beware;  
 Do not fall under this spell.  
 If you could not take anything from them (now the Britishers)  
 Nothing but dust will be your share later!<sup>4</sup>

After the war had ended both England and India were confronted with a new situation and new problems insisted upon their solution. In the empire the question of the relation of the dominions with England acquired urgency. The Montague report had created dismay and alarm in the bureaucracy. The days of unrestricted power and untrammelled action seemed to be threatened. The future was engulfed with darkness.<sup>5</sup> Uncertainty was a strain on tempers. Fears were exaggerated and hostility towards the nationalists whose clamour had compelled India's distant masters to yield exacerbated.

When the war was in its final stages the Defence of India Act provided extraordinary power to the Centre to deal with the situation. It was said that Defence of India Act should automatically be ceased to be effective within six months after the termination of the war. Many nationalist sympathizers had been in detention and the Government did not consider it safe to release them.

It had therefore appointed a committee named the Rowlatt Committee after the name of its chairman who was a British Judge, to study the situation

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4 . Hasrat Mohani, *Kulliyat-i Hasrat Mohani* (Reprint), Delhi, Nomani Publishing house, 1977, p. 263.

5 . Tara Chand, *History of Freedom Movement in India*, vol. III, (Reprint), New Delhi, Publication Division, Government of India, 2005, p. 394.

and recommended the draft of a new law. The Committee's recommendations published in January 1919 were interpreted by nationalists as a death-warrant to the civil liberties. They raised indignation in the country, and Mahatma Gandhi raised its powerful voice against it. He published a pledge signed by himself and his colleagues calling upon his countrymen to meet the challenges passed by the British. The Rowlatt Committee, its report which were not acceptable, Indians Criminal Law Amendment Bill No. 1, 1919 and the Criminal Law emergence were considered unjust and subversive to the principles of liberty, justice, and also destructive of the elementary rights of an individual<sup>6</sup>. Mahatma was not at the forefront in Indian politics at that time. He fixed March 30, 1919 but later changed it to April 6, 1919 as a day of strike for closing of shops, suspension of all business activities fasting and public meeting all over the country.<sup>7</sup>

#### 4.1 *Khilafat*

*Khilafat* literally mean succession. The concept of *Khilafat* has its roots in the book of God – the *Quran*. But historically this conception came to light when the Prophet of Islam passed away. This successor and later on successors to successor were called *Khalifa*. The four immediate successors of the Prophet are mentioned as the *Khalafa-i Rashidin*, the Rightly Guided Caliphs. The office of these four immediate successor of the Prophet of Islam is termed as the *Khalifat-i Rushida* which lasted for thirty years after the Holy Prophet.

The issue of *Khilafat* has always been an important aspect of Islamic socio-political life. History tells us that throughout the centuries Muslims have

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6 . Ram Gopal, op.cit., p. 134.

7 . Ibid., p. 134.

made efforts to establish *Caliphate (Khilafat)*, so that the Islamic State may well be run in accordance with the rules of the *Shariah* – (The Islamic Laws). It is significant to note that even the rulers belonging to the *Umayyad*, *Abbasid* and *Usmaniyah (Ottomans)* dynasties, called themselves *Khalifa* although, in their thought and practices, they were monarchs.

It was at the beginning of the twentieth century, that the Sultan of Turkey also acted as the Caliph (*Khalifa*) of the Muslims of the world. Sultan Abdul Hamid, the last monarch of the Turkish Empire, was held by the Muslims with the title of the *Amir-ul Mu'minin*. But when with outbreak of the first world war Great Britain started to capture different parts of the Turkish Emperor, Great Britain also brought the office of the *Khilafat* to an end. The Muslims all over the world too the issue with great pain and a movement was started by the Muslim leader, particularly those belonging to Indian sub-continent. Maulana Mohammad Ali and his elder brother Shaukat Ali, known in our history of the modern period as the Ali Brothers, played most significant role in launching and popularizing this movement which came to be called the *Khilafat Movement*.

At the time one of the most important issues of Indian Muslims was '*Khilafat*'. As has already been said, those Muslims who had exercised influence over their co-religionists by virtue of their profound learning and devotion to Islam had frankly expressed themselves in favour of Turkey during the war and consequently suffered long terms of imprisonment. The religious emotions of educated Muslims had been roused to a high pitch causing no small concern to the British rulers, who several times in their speeches, tried to

assuage Muslim feelings. Even the British Prime Minister Lloyd George once declared –

“Nor are we fighting of depriving Turkey of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are pre-dominantly Turkish in race”.<sup>8</sup>

When the war ended and indications came from capitals of the victorious nations that Turkey would be saddled with humiliating terms, Indian Muslim leaders flung this ‘solemn promise at the British Government and demanded that the *Jazirat-ul Arab* including Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria and Palestine with all the Holy places situated therein, must always remain under the direct suzerainty of the *Khalifa*.

Indian Muslim leaders said they had pinned their faith to the British Prime Minister’s promise and if they did not keep their promises, it would effect their loyalty to British rule. They feared very much that the promises would not be kept, and they set out to build an anti-British movement to focus the attention of the victors on their demand and sentiments.

On the issue of *Khilafat*, M.K. Gandhi said that “It is just my sincere and moral responsibilities which has made me to take up the *Khilafat* question and to identify myself entirely with the Mohammadans. It is perfectly true that I am assisting and countenancing the union between Hindus and Muslims”.<sup>9</sup>

The first effort at forming a religious organization was made in Bombay by a group of notably loyal and pious Muslims. On March 21, 1919, at a public meeting of Bombay Muslims a *Khilafat* Committee was formed. The President

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8 . Cf. Ram Gopal, op.cit., p. 136.

9 . *Young India*, Ahmedabad, 1919-1922, p. 152.

of the meeting was a wealthy merchant, Seth Mian Mohammad Haji Jan Chotani. Many resolutions were passed. The Committee demanded the Muslims on representation of the Muslims on the peace conference requested the Viceroy to see a delegation of the All-India Muslim League to clear its point of view.<sup>10</sup>

Many meeting were held in Bombay by Bombay *Khilafat* Committee. Many branches of the *Khilafat* organization cropped up all over India, and held meetings in order to keep Muslims informed of the *Khilafat* issue and to pressurise the Government.

During the period of the Punjab disturbances Maulana Abdul Bari Firangi Mahli secured the support of a large number of Ulama to the *Khilafat* cause and an All-India *Khilafat* Conference, was brought into existence on March 21, 1919.<sup>11</sup>

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> November, 1919 the special session of the All-India *Khilafat* Conference was held in Delhi. Nearly four hundred delegates participated, majority of the delegates came from United Province, Delhi etc. Prominent Muslims - Hakim Ajmal Khan, Syed Husain, Maulana Abdul Bari Firangi Mahli, Hasrat Mohani, Fazl-ul Haq etc. came to participate in it. It was a very influential gathering which met to final issue the programme of the Conference and to acquaint the Government with their attitude towards the British. Mahatma Gandhi also participated in the Conference and supported the *Khilafat* issue and addressed the delegates.<sup>12</sup>

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10 . Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1982, p. 73.

11 . Tara Chand, op.cit., p. 409.

12 . Shan Muhammad (ed.), *The Indian Muslims: A Documentary Record (1900-1947)*, vol. VI, Meerut, Meenakshi Prakashan, 1983, p. 7.

“Some people wonder at the reciprocity of friendly feelings between Hindus and Muslims but born of the same mother, belonging to the same soil, what indeed, must they do, if not love one another. When it is said that Hindus should join the Muslims in regard to the *Khilafat* question some people express surprise, but I say that if Hindus and Muslims are brothers it is their duty to share one another's sorrow. There can be but only one question and it is whether the Muslims are in the right and their cause just. If it is legitimate, then every child of the soil must sympathize with them as a matter of duty. We must not say that the question of *Khilafat* is exclusively for the Muslims to grieve over; no, it belongs to all Indian”.<sup>13</sup> It was a very encouraging speech and Hindus and Muslims became great friends than ever.

In that Conference Hasrat Mohani made a passionate speech and advocated a boycott of British goods and the use of Swadeshi. This has already been discussed in detail in the bygone chapter. Gandhi did not favour Mohani on this. In his autobiography ‘The Story of My Experiments with Truth’ Mahatma Gandhi had discussed this in detail. He wrote

“Maulana Hasrat Mohani was present in this meeting. I had known him even before, but it was only there that I discovered what a fighter he was. We differed from each other almost from the very beginning and in several matters the differences have persisted”.<sup>14</sup>

Among the numerous resolution that were passed in that conference. Hasrat Mohani called Hindus and Muslims to take the Swadeshi and Boycott

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13 . *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. XVI (Reprint), New Delhi, Publication Division, Government of India, 1979, p. 307.

14 . M.K. Gandhi, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, (Reprint), Ahmedabad, Navjivan Publishing House, 1945, p. 588.

the British good in case justice was denied in the matter of *Khilafat*. In the words of Indulal Yajnik, the boycott of the British goods was adopted by *Khilafat* Conference 'in spite of Mr. Gandhi's formidable opposition'.<sup>15</sup> Hasrat Mohani not only won this round, he ultimately also brought Gandhi round for accepting his plan of boycotting the British Government, in other words non-cooperation. The historical resolution of Boycott and Non-cooperation was passed by All-India *Khilafat* Conference in Delhi. This idea was not new for Hasrat, who had been advocating it since long.

Only a month later, at the Amritsar Session of the Congress in 27-30 December, 1919, Hasrat who threw his whole weight to a resolution to cooperate with the Government to make the reform a success and get this *Khilafat* Conference in a passionate speech had specially addressed Gandhi and explained to him that it was not possible to fight a Government and at the same time to co-operate with it in day to day activities. In fact it was Hasrat who suggested the word 'non-cooperation' to Gandhi, though this term is generally "The Musalmans have adopted a very important resolution. If the peace terms are unfavourable to them which may God forbid, they will stop all cooperation with Government. It is an inalienable right of the people thus to withhold co-operation. We are not bound to retain Government titles and honours to continue in Government service. If Government should betray us in a great cause like the *Khilafat* we could not do otherwise than non-cooperate. We are therefore entitled to non-cooperate with Government in case of a betrayal. But months elapsed before the word non-cooperation became a current coin. For the time being, it was lost in the proceedings of the Conference. Indeed when I

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15 . Indulal Yajnik, *Gandhi As I Know Him*, Delhi, 1943, p. 151.



supported the co-operation resolution at the Congress which met at Amritsar a month later, I did so in the hope that betrayal would never come".<sup>16</sup> Thus came the boycott of British goods and the non-cooperation movement by Hasrat Mohani.

Gandhi wrote in the issue of *Navjivan* - "The Ali Brothers embraced Hasrat Mohani calling him as '*Our Mad Mullah*'. This man does not want honour nor does he mind insults. He remained engrossed in his work indifferent to heat and cold and making no difference between day and night. These are two jewels of the Muslim community and I feel that Hasrat Mohani is the brightest of the three. There are not many even among Hindus who could rival him in his singleminded devotion, it is doubtful if there is any. And just they are true Muslims, they are Indians. The fate of *Khilafat* case and the future peace of India depends largely on the wisdom of these three. I can see that none of them will be afraid to follow the path they think is right".<sup>17</sup>

In the last week of December 1919, the Annual sessions of the All-India Congress, Muslim League, All-India *Khilafat* Committee and *Jamiat-ul Ulema-i Hind* met at Amritsar under the Presidentship of Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Abdul Bari Firangi Mahli, respectively. The Muslim League censured the Government for its atrocities in Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar and for the imposition of martial law. It expressed the Muslim's anxiety over Egypt and their strong resentment of the proposed dismemberment of Turkey. It expressed their unflinching loyalty of the Sultan of Turkey, Wahiduddin the Caliph.

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16 . M.K. Gandhi, op.cit., pp. 590-91.

17 . *Navjivan*, Ahmedabad, 1-2-1920.

While fully appreciating the labours of the right Hon Edwin Samuel Montague, Secretary of State for India, in connection with the Government of India Act of 1919, Muslim League deeply regretted that full responsible Government for which India was fit, had been withheld both in the provinces and in the centre and that the principle of self-determination had not been applied to her in accordance with her demands. It therefore, considered the reforms inadequate and unsatisfactory and hoped that Parliament will establish full responsible government of India at the earliest opportunity. In the meantime the League called upon Indians to demonstrate their capacity for complete Self-Government by availing themselves of such opportunity as was then offered to them in reforms. The League also recognized that a definite step towards the goal of full responsible government would be taken. Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Abdul Bari Firangi Mahli and Muslim theologians decided that on the occasion of *Id-ul Azha* Muslims would not sacrifice the cow which was sacred to the Hindu brethren. Hindu-Muslim unity was at its peak at that time.<sup>18</sup>

#### **4.2 Hasrat and the 1919 Act**

This constitution was based on the Montague-Chelmsford report which provided separate Muslim electorates, as envisaged in the Lucknow Pact of 1916. But Hasrat Mohani strongly opposed the report and the new constitution. It was his staunch opposition, coupled with the quickly changing mood of India during the next nine months or so, which was very much discussed in Press. In view of the legend which had grown up around Gandhi's name, it was perhaps necessary to stress that by comparison with Hasrat he was still at this time a

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18. Shan Muhammad, op.cit., p. 116.

newcomer to the Indian National Movement. Gandhi wrote in his autobiography.

“I must regard my participation in Congress proceedings at Amritsar as my real entrance into the Congress politics. My attendance at the previous Congress was nothing more perhaps than an annual renewal of allegiance to the Congress. I never felt on these occasions that I had any other work out for me except that of a mere private, nor did I desire more”.<sup>19</sup>

Hasrat had already earned fame when in 1915 Gandhi appeared in the political scenario of the country on his return to India after a long stay in South Africa. Although from 1918 onwards he rapidly came to dominate the Hindu side<sup>20</sup> of the movement, it was not surprising that at the time of which we were speaking he should have found it necessary to pay serious attention to Hasrat's view and, as we have seen to acknowledge his influence, particularly when Muslim militancy was at a high pitch and the trend towards Hindu-Muslim cooperation against the British was now strongly established.

### 4.3 Non-Cooperation

The year 1920 opened with a definite cleavage of parties in Indian politics. The fact was that anxiety was growing in the public mind over the Punjab atrocities as well as the *Khilafat*<sup>21</sup> question.

Muslim leaders called a big meeting at Allahabad on 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 1920 which was attended by Hindu leaders by invitation. At this Conference it

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19 . M.K. Gandhi, op.cit., p. 596.

20 . Qadiri, K.H., *Hasrat Mohani*, Delhi, Idarah-i Adabiya-i Delli, 1985, p. 213.

21 . Sitaramayya, B. Pattabhi, *The History of the Congress*, Vol. I (1885-1935), Allahabad, Congress Working Committee, 1935, p. 319.

was decided to adopt a more comprehensive programme, and appointed a Committee, to take message of non-cooperation and *Khilafat* wide. Among others Maulana Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and other Muslims leaders were members of this Committee. The Committee told the Government that if the terms of the treaty with the Turks were not modified they would launch a mass movement. M.K. Gandhi said that-

“For the masses and for internal work however, the Committee is the most representative. It is difficult perhaps to find two men more representative of Muslims opinion than Shaukat Ali and Hasrat Mohani. The others though less known have been chosen for the qualities of strength perseverance, patience calmness truthfulness, courage under difficulty and sacrifice believed to be possessed by him”.<sup>22</sup>

The excitement caused by the *Khilafat* question among the Muslims of India gradually increased and Mahatma Gandhi, by his utterances and writings continued to stimulate it on 10<sup>th</sup> March, 1920, the *Khilafat* Conference met at Calcutta and declared that the non-cooperation was the best weapon to the *Khilafat* aims. The conference also passed a resolution saying that if the decision of the Peace Conference regarding Turkey went against their wishes they would launch reverse movement. Mahatma Gandhi declared this manifesto on the *Khilafat* question on March 7, 1920. The Manifesto stated -

“The *Khilafat* question has now become question of questions. It has become an imperial question of first magnitude –

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22. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. XVII, (Reprinted), New Delhi, Publication Division, Government of India, 1990, p. 506.

- i. There should be no rest till the minimum is achieved.
- ii. There should be no mixing up of other question with the *Khilafat*’’.<sup>23</sup>

In this manifesto he called the *Khilafat* question, a question of questions and declared that non-cooperation was the only remedy open to the people. Mahatma Gandhi urged the people to give up offices of honour or emoluments under the Government, excepting army, and advised to the soldiers to refuse to serve was premature. He advised the people to proceed slowly so as to ensure retention of self control under the fiercest heat.

When the Hunter Committee Report was published on 28 May 1920.<sup>24</sup> Mahatma Gandhi sought the extension of his non-cooperation. After the adoption of the non-cooperation by the Central *Khilafat* Committee, Mahatma Gandhi began his efforts to get it approved by the Indian National Congress, the organization which represented the people of the country as a whole.

The earnest appeal of the Muslims as well as of Mahatma Gandhi had no effect on the Government. On 17 July 1920, Non-cooperation Committee of which Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Hasrat Mohani, Shaukat Ali, Ahmad Siddiq Khattari, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Maulana Mohammad Ali were the members urged the people to start the non-cooperation movement from 1<sup>st</sup> August, 1920. They asked the people to offer prayers. They were to observe fast, stop business, hold committees and promise to God that they would bear every sort of trouble for the sake of righteousness on that day they were to renounce the titles and honorary posts. They told the people to remember that disturbances and breach of peace were not in any way profitable to them, but stick to the right path.<sup>25</sup>

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23 . *Young India*, Ahmedabad, 10.03.1920.

24 . *The Indian Annual Register*, 1921, p. 193.

25 . Home Political, July 1920, No. 106, Part, Deposit, National Archives of India, New Delhi, p. 11.

In a speech at Bombay on the occasion of the *Khilafat* Day i.e. 1<sup>st</sup> August 1920, the two things were important for non-cooperation. M.K. Gandhi said that “The two condition which should be rigorously adhered to in prosecution of non-cooperation were non-violence and swadeshi. Any violence on their part would defeat non-cooperation, and Hasrat asked them all to refrain from violence. They should refrain from anger. Then, they should be prepared to make sacrifice by giving up among other things their predilection for fine clothes. Mr. Hasrat Mohani told him when he advocated swadeshi that people of north India could not possibly do without thin clothes made out of fine-spin cotton. Now he could not understand this inability on the part of the people mentioned, part of the people mentioned by Mr. Hasrat Mohani”.<sup>26</sup>

Towards the end of August 1920, Mahatma Gandhi got the non-cooperation resolution passed by Gujarat Political Conference which was held at Ahmedabad from 27<sup>th</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup> August 1920. M.K. Gandhi said that, “It was announced that boycott would start within three months, but nothing of the kind happened. You will hardly come across a worker like Hasrat Mohani. I had pleaded with him earnestly at the Delhi meeting on non-cooperation and requested him not to move the resolution on boycott. But with his influence on the Muslims, who would listen to me there? They heard me all right, some even felt that there was substance in what I said, but the resolution advocating boycott was finally passed. However, it remained ineffective, for the people who are in love with foreign goods, and a lover has eyes only for the things he loves. Hasrat Mohani pleaded with Muslim business men and requested them

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26. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. XVIII, (Reprint), New Delhi, Publication Division, Government of India, 1990, p. 108.

not to import goods manufactured by British firms. The business men, however, could not bring themselves to sacrifice their profits running into crores. I have met innumerable people in places like Calcutta and Bombay and I have come to the conclusion that boycott is not possible. And now Hasrat Mohani also has given up the idea. I have, thus, seen the failure of the policy. Why, then, cling to a stand which puts you in an awkward situation? Gujarat has voted for non-cooperation; where then, is the need for a further resolution on boycott? If it has been a proper course to follow, I would have taken up the idea long ago".<sup>27</sup>

The special session of the Congress was held in Calcutta from 4<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> September 1920 in the midst of the most enthusiastic scene under the Presidentship of Lala Lajpat Rai, to consider the programme as well as the policy of non cooperation.<sup>28</sup>

The Nagpur Congress was to be the next place where the programme of non-cooperation was to be finally discussed and decided. The number of delegates who attended the Congress was immense. Their number was fourteen thousand five hundred eighty two of whom no less than one thousand fifty were Muslims and one hundred sixty nine women. Many Hindu leaders were not ready to support non-cooperation like C.R. Das who brought a contingent of about two hundred fifty delegates from East Bengal and Assam and bore their expenses to and from his pocket to undo what was done in Calcutta.<sup>29</sup>

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27 . Ibid., pp. 213-14.

28 . Sitaramayya B. Pattabhi, op.cit., p. 338.

29 . Ibid., pp. 346-47.

The presence of three 'fraternal delegates from the British Labour Party, Col Wedgewood, M.P. Hatford Knifit and Benspoor made the situation still more delicate Muslim delegates and Muslim divines made forceful speeches. Hasrat Mohani, the old veteran of swadeshi and non-cooperation of course maintained the same stand now but the real heroes of the session were Maulana Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali who were the real life and soul of *Khilafat* Movement. A host of the Congress speakers one after another, spoke against the movement; Col Wedgewood very strongly criticized the policy of non-cooperation which the Muslims had already adopted and confirmed by resolution of the *Khilafat* Committee and the Muslim League and which the Congress was now debating in Nagpur session.

Whereas in the opinion of the Congress the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country and whereas the people of India was now determined to establish Swaraj, whereas all methods adopted by the people of the Indian National Congress have failed to secure due recognition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their many grievous wrong more specially with reference to the *Khilafat* and the Punjab. Now this Congress while reaffirming the resolution on non-violent non-cooperation passed at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta.

Gandhiji calling parents and guardians of school boys under the age of 16 years to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as aided or in any way controlled by Government and currently to provide for their training in national schools or by such other means as may be within their power in the absence of such schools.<sup>30</sup>

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30 . *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. XIX, (Reprint), New Delhi, Publication Division, Government of India, 1990, p. 576.



Hasrat Mohani opposed the resolution because he wanted to withdraw all the students from schools and colleges by deleting the age limit from the original resolution but the Congress resolution did not bind a man's conscience but the Congress opinion was that 'this Congress certainly says you may not address boys under sixteen because they are of tender age and you do not know whether they have a prick of conscience' but Hasrat Mohani subsequently withdrew his amendment which he declared, was not necessary in the light of the every cogent explanation given by Gandhiji.<sup>31</sup> Many other resolutions were passed calling upon merchants and traders to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations and to encourage hand spinning and weaving upon every section and every man and woman in the country to make possible contribution of self sacrifice to the national movement.

The annual sessions of the All-India Muslim League and the All-India *Khilafat* Conference which were also held at Nagpur in 1920 under the Presidentship of Dr. M.A. Ansari and Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi respectively confirmed the programme of non-cooperation, declaring that it was a religious obligation absolutely binding on the Muslims of India.

In the first few months of the year 1921 a number of *Khilafat* and *Jamiat-ul Ulama-i Hind* meeting were held in different parts of the country on account of which Muslim feelings rose to great heights. The two questions which were prominent in these conferences were those of the *Khilafat* and *Swaraj*.<sup>32</sup>

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31 . Ibid., pp. 185-186.

32 . Bamford, P.C., *Histories of the Non-Cooperation Khilafat Movements*, (Reprint), 1974, New Delhi, Deep Publication, 1925, p. 164.

The passion of the Muslims were roused at the All India *Khilafat* Conference held in Karachi from 8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> July 1921. In the meeting it was declared unlawful for the Muslims to serve the British army, Maulana Mohammad Ali was the President of that meeting. Plainly speaking this was seditious and under the law of the land it could carry the death penalty.

Maulana Mohammad Ali's speech was a fiery speech. The Government as was expected put him and his brother, Shaukat Ali and other leaders behind the bars and instituted a case of sedition under which they had been punished. After that incident political pressure of the country was very high. In Sharif Manzil Delhi, the residence of Hakim Ajmal Khan, a meeting was held in which many prominent leaders of the country discussed the matter. Hasrat Mohani listened to them quietly and in the end he said - "Gentlemen! if you want to help the Ali Brothers then do what I have done at Kanpur. I called a public meeting and proposed the same resolution for which the Ali Brothers have been arrested. My wife seconded it, and told the audience that she would read aloud every word of this resolution, and that if they agreed with it the audience should stand up and repeat the resolution word by word after her, and at the end say, 'we confirm the entire resolution'. Now let the Government arrest all the hundreds of thousands of people who adopted this resolution at Kanpur you should organize meetings throughout the country and get the resolution adopted in every village and town of the country. Either the Government will have to arrest millions of people, or will have to pass a purely nominal sentence on those who have been arrested".<sup>33</sup> Hasrat's proposal was

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33 . Syed Mohammad Tonki, *Yad-i Raftagan*, Madina, Bijnor, 25 January 1965, p. 3.

accepted and entire country resounded the resolution that to serve in the British army or police was sinful.

Gandhi did not agree with Karachi resolution yet on 4 October, 1921 he issued a circular letter which discussed the whole matter to save the lives of Ali Brothers. The circular letter said – “In view of the arrest of Maulana Shaukat Ali and Mohammad Ali and others, it is necessary for some of us to meet and consider the situation. The Working Committee met at Ahmedabad on the 6<sup>th</sup> October. But it would be well if we could meet at Bombay on the 4<sup>th</sup> October Laburnum Road at 1 p.m. sharp. Will you please let me know at Bombay whether you would attend? I will reach Bombay on the 2<sup>nd</sup> October”.<sup>34</sup>

After this meeting on 4<sup>th</sup> October 1921 6.50 P.M. a manifesto was issued from Bombay and was signed by 48 leaders including Hasrat. The manifesto said – “We are also of the opinion that it is the duty of every Indian soldier and civilian to sever his connection with the Government and find some other means of livelihood”.<sup>35</sup>

The Working Committee of the Congress on Oct. 5, passed a resolution virtually justifying the *Khilafat* Conference resolution and asking the people to repeat the Mohammad Ali speech at public meeting. On 6 October, this was done from thousands of public platforms in the country. The Working Committee also allowed Provincial Congress Committees to launch a civil disobedience movement.<sup>36</sup>

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34 . *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. XXI, (Reprint), New Delhi, Publication Division, Government of India, 1979, pp. 138-39

35 . *Ibid.*, pp. 235-36.

36 . Ram Gopal, oip.cit., p. 149.

The tactics that Hasrat Mohani had suggested yielded the desired result, and in the much publicised sedition trial of Karachi, the Ali Brothers were sentenced to two years of imprisonment. Another song which became very popular during that period was

کہہ رہے ہیں کراچی کے قیدی  
ہم تو جاتے ہیں دو دو برس کو

The prisoners of Karachi say;  
We go to jail for two years.

The movement was on the peak. M.K. Gandhi raised, a slogan of 'Swaraj within one year'. During the year of 1920-21, Gandhi made a number of promises as to the date by which Swaraj would be obtained.

"If there is sufficient response of my scheme, I make bold to reiterate my statement that we can gain Swaraj in the course of one year".<sup>37</sup> In the Nagpur session of the Congress 29<sup>th</sup> December 1920 three months he said My experience during the last months fills me with the hope that within the nine months that remains of the year in which I have expected Swaraj for India we shall redress the two wrongs and we shall see Swaraj (Parliamentary) established in accordance with the wishes of the people of India".<sup>38</sup>

Mahatma Gandhi gave another statement on 30 June 1921 for conditions of Swaraj.

- i. One crore of rupees for the Tilak fund
- ii. One crore of members on the Congress register

37 . Bamford, P.C., op.cit., p. 51.

38 . Ibid., p. 51.

iii. The spinning wheel introduced in 20 lakh of home”.<sup>39</sup>

But Maulana Hasrat did not at all agree with these ideas of the Mahatma. In the mean time he proves over the annual session of the U.P. Provincial Congress held in 22-23 October, 1921 in Agra, he vehemently criticized him.<sup>40</sup> In his presidential address he openly raised the slogan of ‘complete independence’ (*huruyat-i kamil*).<sup>41</sup> Continuing his speech he asked Gandhiji that if he (Gandhi) failed to achieve freedom by 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1921, he (Hasrat) would start fighting for the complete independence.<sup>42</sup> He emphatically demanded, in his address, that as soon as possible, there must be an end of the British Imperialism.<sup>43</sup> He also laid emphasis on the issue of the Swaraj by declaring it equally significant to both Hindus and Muslims, and in this connection he also discussed, in his sermon, as to how the Swadeshi movement should be brought to a success.<sup>44</sup> Expressing his disagreement on these views of Gandhiji. Hasrat made comment through the following verse :

گاندھی کی طرح بیٹھ کے کاتیں گے کیوں چرخ  
لنین کی طرح دیں گے نہ دنیا کو ہلا ہم

Why should we spin the wheel sitting like Gandhi;  
We will shake the world like Lenin.<sup>45</sup>

39 . Ibid., p. 52.

40 . Mufti Mohammad Raza Ansari, (ed.), *Intekhab-i Khutbat-i Hasrat Mohani*, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh Urdu Academy, 1988, pp. 65-67.

41 . Ibid., p. 67.

42 . Ibid., p. 68.

43 . Ibid., pp. 68-69.

44 . Ibid., pp. 73-74.

45 . *Kulliyat-i Hasrat Mohani*, op.cit., p. 401.

#### 4.4 Ahmedabad Session : 1921

We have no recorded comment by Hasrat on Gandhi's promise of achieving Swaraj in one year. It appears that he did not place much faith in this statement because he knew very well the difficulties in the way. Now, the period of a year was to be over on 31<sup>st</sup> December 1921. Meanwhile it was decided that the sessions of both the Congress and the Muslim League were to be held in Ahmedabad. As C.R. Das was elected President of the Congress was in jail, Hakim Ajmal Khan presided over the Congress session. Hasrat Mohani was elected President of the All-India Muslim League. Uptill this time the relation between Hindus and Muslims had been very cordial and the leader of both the communities attended the session of each other quite freely.

In the Session of the Congress on 27<sup>th</sup> December 1921 Hasrat Mohani fought for a change in Congress creed, and laid down the attainment of Swaraj without the British empire as the object of the Congress. The discussion showed that there was a very large number of delegates in favour of the demand for independence, but the special intervention of M.K. Gandhi and his appeal to expediency secured the defeat of the opposition by 200 votes to 52.<sup>46</sup>

Hasrat Mohani declared that to him Swaraj meant nothing less than complete independence and that their salvation lay in destroying British imperialism. M.K. Gandhi argued that the attainment of Swaraj would automatically end the British imperialism and warned them against estranging the Moderates.

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46 . Home Political F.No. 461/1922, National Archives of India, New Delhi, pp. 14-15.

Hasrat's complete independence resolution was also supported by delegates from the United Province who distributed leaflets requesting the members to vote for nothing less than complete Swaraj.<sup>47</sup>

In that very session principal resolution on the agenda relating to Civil Disobedience volunteer organizations and dictatorship; were moved by M.K. Gandhi.<sup>48</sup> Hasrat Mohani's motion was to change the Congress creed so as to define to Swaraj as meaning of complete independence. M.K. Gandhi in moving the main resolution said that it was a natural result of their activities during the past fifteen months and was the only step that a self-respecting nation could adopt in view of the viceregal pronouncement. It would be warning to Government to reflect before making 300 millions their eternal enemy. It also left the door open for Government or the Moderate sincerely who wanted a Round Table Conference. It was not an arrogant challenge to anybody, but it was a challenge to authority enthroned on arrogance, which disregarded the considered opinion of millions human beings an authority which wanted to crush freedom of opinion and freedom to form an association. He was a man of peace, and wanted peace, but on at any price. He warned the assembly that if ever non-violence were abandoned, India would never attain independence. Swaraj was in their pockets, but they were not paying the price.<sup>49</sup>

Hasrat Mohani's motion for a change in the Congress creed was as follows : "The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of

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47 . Ibid., p. 15.

48 . Ibid., p. 16.

49 . Ibid., p. 16.

Swaraj or complete independence, free from all foreign control, by the legitimate and peaceful means. He said that at Nagpur Congress, Mahatma Gandhi had said that they could declare independence if the *Khilafat* and Punjab wrongs were not redressed. He wanted those promises now to be fulfilled. There could be no solution unless a repetition of such wrongs was made impossible by the destruction of British imperialism and the attainment of complete independence. Dominion status was out of question as the circumstances that existed in India were quite different from those in the colonies”.<sup>50</sup>

M.K. Gandhi differed with resolution of Mohani and said “They should first of all gather up their strength and sound their own depth and not go into waters whose depth they did not know. This proposition of Hasrat Mohani would lead them into unfathomable depths”.<sup>51</sup>

Hasrat Mohani said as follows in Urdu in moving his resolution in Congress – “The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj or complete independence from all foreign control of the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means”.<sup>52</sup>

“I ask you to carry your memory back to one year and remember that at Nagpur the Congress passed its Creed resolution. When it was passed and when the ‘Swaraj’ was included in it, it was said that the word ‘Swaraj’ should be constructed in two ways - Swaraj within the Empire and Swaraj without the Empire. At that time Mahatma Gandhi had said that until the *Khilafat* or Punjab

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50 . Ibid., p. 17.

51 . Ibid., p. 17.

52 . Ibid., p. 38.



question were solved with justice the people of India would not think of going outside the Empire and that 'we shall decide whether to have Swaraj without the Empire, if no justice is done in the *Khilafat* and Punjab matters'. After that incident one year is over. In this matter I do not want to say any other thing than this, namely, that these conditions are not fulfilled. During this one year we have got justice in the *Khilafat* and Punjab matters. After one year we assembled here. Then why can we not move for complete independence. You have to remember that Mahatma Gandhi gave us one year's time ('*mudat*'). In this speech he said 'we shall take Swaraj in one year' I think that all the people who have assembled here came with a hope ('*umed*') that 'we will go there and secure independence'. But now that we could not secure independence, we should, at least, do this, namely, carry our work for Swaraj until complete independence is secured.

"Mahatma Gandhi has said that in one year Swaraj would take place and the *Khilafat* matter decided. That one year is over and neither Swaraj nor the *Khilafat* or the Punjab were solved. How are you going to decide the question of Swaraj now? Mahatma Gandhi said 'We would get Swaraj in one year' I say, it is not possible to get a satisfactory decision in these matters. There will be no possibility. And as long as it is not possible, we cannot get complete independence. We wish to have the same independence that other dependencies have got, but the difference between them and India is this. Canada became independent, Australia became independent, because they are connected with England by their language. What is possible for Canada, for Australia, for America, is not possible for India. Even in imagination, it would not be possible for India to have complete independence. Then the question of Swaraj

may be divided into two parts – ‘Swaraj within the Empire’ and ‘Swaraj without the Empire’. So far as the *Khilafat* matter is concerned it must be without the Empire. Until, therefore, the British Imperialism is over, as long as the English rule is not over, until the ‘*kuvat*’ (strength) of the British Imperialism is weakened throughout the world, Islam will remain under its control. Therefore, in the matter of *Khilafat* there is only one consideration, namely, complete independence. The solution of the question of Swaraj will not solve the question of the *Khilafat*, as long as British Imperialism is helped. Therefore, I say that the present condition of India will not solve the *Khilafat* question’. Mahatma Gandhi claims to say ‘We shall become free in the *Khilafat* and Punjab matters. I could understand him. The *Khilafat* will not be successful until we get complete independence. There is one more point. All the leaders have gone to jail and are gagged.

“C.R. Das went to jail but what message he had sent to you? He said to the Court we do not care for the court, we do not care for the Court’s order. Jawaharlal Nehru said the same thing. Ali Brothers at Karachi said the same thing. Shaukat Ali further said that ‘By the 31<sup>st</sup> December, we want to be free’ on that date we shall declare the Indian Republic. Gentleman, you know that every one of them said ‘we are free’. But who could say that today we are free, that we are completely free? Lokmanya Tilak said that ‘India must be free, that India’s freedom is our birthright and we shall have it’. Gentleman, I ask you to consider what is right and true and then accept the resolution. With these words, I beg to place the resolution before you”.<sup>53</sup>

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53 . Ibid., pp. 38-39.

Gandhiji then said, “At the same time I am glad that among us there are many such people who will not fear to speak of Swaraj. We were then frightened to take the name of freedom. The man who spoke of Swaraj was believed to be a fool (*pagal*), but today we can say, that we do not want to live with British Government, that complete independence is required, I am glad and I like this (*pasant*). I say that I want to explain responsibility. You have Mr. Hasrat Mohani playing before you a bomb (*bomgola*)”.<sup>54</sup>

On that resolution Hasrat Mohani secured but small support in the voting on his motion which in the open session was defeated by a majority of 10 to 1. The fact must not be overlooked, however, that this result was only achieved after Gandhi had made a strenuous appeal to the Congress to retain his principle of non-violence. Previous to that appeal the volume of sentiment in favour of Hasrat Mohani’s motion was very much large if it did not actually predominant in Assembly. The supporters of Hasrat Mohani’s motion comprised all the Andhra delegates, the Bengal delegates, all the delegates from Central Provinces, a few from Bombay and all the Sikh delegates except one from Delhi.<sup>55</sup>

Subhash Chandra Bose sarcastically commented on Gandhi : “There was an interesting episode at the Ahmedabad Congress. Maulana Hasrat Mohani moved a resolution to the effect that the goal of the Indian national Congress should be defined in the constitution as the establishment of republic (the United States of India). So impassionate was his eloquence and so responsive was the audience, that one felt as if the resolution would be carried by a large

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54 . Ibid., p. 40.

55 . Bamford, P.C., op.cit., p. 48.

majority. But the Mahatma rose to oppose the resolution and with great sobriety argued against the proposition, with the result that it was thrown out by the house. The proposition was, however, to be brought up over and over again at subsequent Congresses till it was accepted at the Lahore Congress in 1929, the mover on that occasion being none other than the Mahatma himself".<sup>56</sup>

#### 4.5 Hasrat's Third Imprisonment

As has been mentioned above, the Indian National Congress, All-India Muslim League and the *Khilafat* Committee met in Ahmedabad in December 1921. Hasrat Mohani delivered a burning speech in the Congress Session and Muslim League. Government thought this speech a clear call for the adoption of violence. In its report, submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy on 2<sup>nd</sup> January, 1922, the Bombay Government said: "The prosecution of Hasrat Mohani, on the other hand, stands on a different footing. His speech at the sessions of the All-India Muslim League is a clear call for the adoption of methods of violence. It is doubtful whether his prosecution would seriously affect Muhammadan opinion. The feeling amongst those Mohammadans, who have been deeply influenced by the *Khilafat* agitation, would be no greater than it is at present. And on the other hand, there is clear danger in refusing to accept a challenge so open and flagrant. In view too of the arrests of a number of prominent Hindu leaders, it can be no longer urged that Government is differentiating between Hindus and Mohammedans in this matter as was felt by many Mohammedans to the case when the Ali Brothers were arrested and

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56 . Subhas Chandra Bose, op.cit., p. 69.

prosecuted”.<sup>57</sup> Responding to this report, the Viceroy sent a telegram, No. 25, dated Delhi, the 6<sup>th</sup> January 1922, to the Governor of Bombay in which he said: “Your telegram of 4<sup>th</sup> January stated that Gandhi is holding his hand now, and not ordering a general attack upon Government nor proclaiming the goal of complete independence because he does not feel that his preparations are fully complete but when these are complete he will throw off disguise, and that he opposed Hasrat Mohani’s resolution because in his attempt to gain moderate opinion he preferred to point out its inexpediency for the moment, all of which seems to imply that Gandhi contemplates at later stage of his campaign embarking on policy and methods of violence. Before replying to your telegram, we should be glad to be informed whether this appreciated of Gandhi’s intention is based on inference only or on definite information, and if so, what that information is”.<sup>58</sup>

Hasrat Mohani was very dangerous in the eye of the Government. The Bombay Government sent report to the Secretary of State for India, for approval of the charges against him. The final suggestion of the Secretary of State, namely, that section 107 and 108 should be employed against Gandhi and apparently Hasrat Mohani to be followed by deportation seems to me to be utterly impracticable and impolitic. Apart from question whether it is advisable to prevent Gandhi from embarking on civil disobedience and the view of the Secretary of the State was very decidedly that nothing could be more impolitic than a prosecution under minor sections with the necessity that when the time for their release came, to resort to deportation. Circumstances was of course

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57 . Home Political, F.No. 489/1922 (Political), National Archives of India, New Delhi, p. 2.

58 . Ibid., p. 2.

conceivable in which deportation under the Regulation or an Ordinance might be necessary but when prosecution was practicable under section 124-A, it would surely be unwise to employ against Gandhi or Hasrat Mohani, the most unpopular weapon in our armoury.<sup>59</sup> However, in its telegram to the Secretary of State for India, No. 164, dated 10<sup>th</sup> February 1922, the Government of India said that the Government of India saw *prima facie* no possible reason for exempting Mohani from prosecution now all other local Governments should be directed to prosecute all prominent leaders who have recently advocated or to advocate civil disobedience. But in accordance with the Order in Council, issued by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, the arrest of prominent leaders advocating civil disobedience, subject to legal advice, strengthening armed police even at risk that money may not be granted and that budget will have to be restored and taking action against papers advocating civil disobedience.<sup>60</sup>

The Secretary, Home Department, Government of India, sent this telegram to the Chief Secretary of the Government of Bombay: "Government of India would be glad to be informed whether after consulting their legal advisors, the Government of Bombay consider that a prosecution should be instituted against Hasrat Mohani in connection with his presidential address to the Muslim League. Summary of the opinion of the Government of Bombay and of their legal advisor should be telegraphed".<sup>61</sup>

Hasrat Mohani was very dangerous man in the eyes of the Government. In what manner he was looked upon by the British authorities may be judged

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59 . Ibid., p. 13.

60 . Ibid., p. 14.

61 . Home Political, F.No. 489/1922 (Secret) National Archives of India, New Delhi, p. 1.

from the following telegraphic letter, (No. 494, dated the 28<sup>th</sup> January 1922), of the Secretary of State from India. "In pursuing the telegrams regarding action against seditious speakers, writers and others who directly challenge Government authority, I have been struck by the length of time which elapses between the commission of an offence and the prosecution of it. I do not like to suggest that avoidable delay is permitted to occur and I do not wish to advise taking action without good consideration but every one must recognize that the emergency is serious and that it is necessary to take most prompt and effective measures to break up the anti-Government organization. Every week that passes between offence and the prosecution permits more time for the spreading of this organization. I may particularly refer to the cases of Gandhi and Hasrat Mohani.

"I am aware that the Government sanction is necessary for certain prosecutions under section 196, Code of Criminal Procedure, and that the police may not arrest offenders of that class without a warrant. Sanction is also required under section 108 to action against journalist. Is it, however, not possible for a magistrate to take immediate action, e.g., under section 108 against speaker or under section 107 or by prosecution on some charge connected with a breach of the peace and thus stop the repetition of an offence while sanction of prosecution was being obtained".<sup>62</sup>

We come across another telegram No. SD 453, dated 7<sup>th</sup> February, 1922, sent to the Secretary, Government of India, Home Department by the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, which reveals the political significance of the Presidential address of Maulana Hasrat in the Ahmedabad Session of the

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62 . Ibid., p. 6.

Muslim League. It is as follows : “The Advocate General’s opinion was that the speech constituted an offence under Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code and that the speaker might also be prosecuted for offence by instigation under section 121 of the Penal Code; The member of Legal Affairs considered that above opinions were based on the text of the speeches as published in the press. Vide *Bombay Chronicle*, dated 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1921 and January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1922, and *New Times* of Karachi, dated 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1922.

“Independent evidence, as regards the correctness of the press report, is however not satisfactory. The speech was read hurriedly from the manuscript with face averted from reporters who were unable to hear and record it in full. The text appears to have been handed by Mohani to Mr. Durga Das Saran, an official reporter of the Associated Press of India, Delhi, whose address was given care of S.K. Iyengar, B-10, Government Quarters, Timarpur, Delhi. The original message is described in note by Durga Das as authorized translation of address and is signed by Durga Das. Signature and handwriting identified by local telegraphist.

“Proof would therefore depend mainly on the evidence of Durga Das and his willingness to give it. It is requested that this should be ascertained immediately by the Government of India.

“The Government of Bombay are, however, decidedly of the opinion that a separate prosecution of Mohani on these charges should be deferred pending the decision on the action against other parties equally or more prominently concerned in the joint movement”.<sup>63</sup>

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63 . Ibid., p. 8.



The Secretary, Government of Bombay again wrote to the Secretary, Home Department, Government of India : “ Please refer to your telegram no. 308 Poll, dated the 8<sup>th</sup> February 1922, Hasrat Mohani. The Government of Bombay is enquiring into the possibility of obtaining other collateral evidence in respect of the Presidential address but it appears to them that the evidence of Durga Das will be indispensable. It is therefore requested that the Director, Intelligence Bureau, be asked to have Das’ statement recorded in the first instance. The evidence which is required from him is data proving that the message to the *New Times* and *Bombay Chronicle* and other papers. Original on record here, was handed in by him on the afternoon of the 30<sup>th</sup> December at the Congress Camp telegraph office, was a full text of the authorized translation of the presidential speech as stated in the message, e.g. (a) whether translation of the address was handed to him before it was actually delivered by Hasrat Mohani, whether he has a copy with him now and by whom it was handed in to him etc., (b) whether he can suggest any corroborative evidence”.<sup>64</sup>

Regarding evidence of Durga Das Saran, the Secretary, Special Department, Government of Bombay, also sent a telegram (No. 363, dated 13 February 1922), to the Secretary, Home Department, Government of India. This was based on the report of the Director, Intelligence Bureau. To quote it : “Durga Das Saran will give evidence that he telegraphed the message to 32 Special Associated address including the *New Times* and the *Bombay Chronicle*. He received the English translation of the speech from Hasrat Mohani personally about two hours before the speech was actually delivered.

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64 . Ibid., p. 14.

Hasrat Mohani who gave him the translation on condition that he would return it to him, and he did this personally after having its copies. It was an authorized translation because it was given by Hasrat Mohani who alone could have authorized translation of his own speech. It was not actually so described in words when it was given to him. Durga Das Saran put in all the typed copied to the Telegraph Office to be dispatched as soon as he satisfied himself that the speech had actually been delivered. He was almost sure that he had no typed copy with him and if he had it would be identical with original message which was in the possession of the Bombay Government. He was present in the pandal and heard about the one fourth of the speech was being actually delivered, and would be delivered in full, he left the pandal and went to the Telegraph Office where he gave instructions that the English version should be telegraphed. He returned to the pandal afterwards but to the best of his recollection Hasrat Mohani had by then finished his speech, he did not hear the rest of it. Durga Das Saran saw the original Urdu manuscript which contained the speech as delivered but only glanced through it, and did not read it, this at the same time as the English translation was handed to him. Iyengar, the reporter of the Associated Press was present when Hasrat Mohani handed over the English version to Durga Das Saran, but Iyengar did not attend the actual meeting nor heard Hasrat Mohani's speech, because he did not understand Urdu Durga Das Saran understood Urdu.<sup>65</sup>

At last Government decided that Hasrat Mohani should be prosecuted under sections 121 and 124-A of Penal Code. The Viceroy wrote to the Secretary of State in his letter dated 29<sup>th</sup> March, 1922 that the Government of

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65 . Ibid., pp. 16-17.

Bombay proposed to institute proceedings under sections 121 and 124-A Penal Code, at once against Hasrat Mohani in respect of his Presidential address to Muslim League at Ahmedabad on 30<sup>th</sup> December, 1921.<sup>66</sup>

The information given by the Secretary, Government of Bombay, special Department, to the Secretary, Government of India, Home Department, through a telegram dated 8<sup>th</sup> April, 1922, runs so: "Please refer my telegram no. S.D.-960, dated 29<sup>th</sup> March, Prosecution Hasrat Mohani. Orders under section 196, Criminal Procedure Code have issued. Arrangements, in consultation with the United Provinces authorities for his arrest, and dispatch to Ahmedabad from Lucknow where he is at present are being made".<sup>67</sup>

The reply of this matter from His Excellency the Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India, dated 12<sup>th</sup> April, 1922, is : "Hasrat Mohani on the 10<sup>th</sup> January, we consulted Bombay as to the advisability of prosecution, asking them to consult their legal advisers. They replied on the 7<sup>th</sup> February, giving certain practical difficulties in the matter of obtaining evidence which were easily overcome and stating that they were decidedly of opinion that a separate prosecution of Hasrat Mohani should be deferred pending the decision on the action taken against other parties equally or more prominently concerned in the joint movement. Shortly afterwards on 13<sup>th</sup> February order were issued by us postponing Gandhi's prosecution. We informed the Bombay Government on the 1<sup>st</sup> March that the arrest and prosecution of Gandhi should be proceeded with, and on the 17<sup>th</sup> March after his conviction, in a telegram in which we asked the Government of Bombay to institute proceedings against other leading

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66 . Ibid., p. 24.

67 . Ibid., p. 24.

non-co-operators, should they hereafter be guilty of offences under section 124. Indian Penal Code (vide our telegram no. 315, dated 24<sup>th</sup> March), we enquired what action, if any, they contemplated against Mohani. Thus it will be seen that the delay in instituting a prosecution against Hasrat Mohani up to 1<sup>st</sup> March was due to the fact that the Government of Bombay considered that such a prosecution would be inadvisable until Gandhi had been prosecuted, the reference in their telegram of the 17<sup>th</sup> February, to other parties equally or more concerned having presumably Gandhi in particular in view. We have no information with regard to subsequent delay, but possibly this was due to the view that the trial of Gandhi should be first concluded and the pre-occupations of that trial".<sup>68</sup>

Hasrat Mohani was arrested on 16<sup>th</sup> April, 1922 in Kanpur, six days after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi on 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1922. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay sent information to the Secretary, Government of India, Home Department, on 17<sup>th</sup> April 1922 about the arrest and sending Hasrat Mohani to the Ahmedabad Jail.<sup>69</sup>

The above mentioned correspondence between the Chief Secretary of the Bombay Government and the Secretary of State of India (Home) indicate the activities of Indian leaders, regarding the country's independence were continue forcefully. Informing the Government of India, the Government of Bombay wrote that Hasrat Mohani was arrested and he was brought to Sabarmati. It is said when he reached Sabarmati Jail, he composed the following couplet:

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68 . Ibid., p. 25.

69 . Ibid., p. 25.

چلی سا برمتی میں آج کیا ہی  
 نسیم رحمت فضل الہی  
 دل حسرت ہوا معمور انوار  
 شر رزاق دیتے ہیں گواہی

What air of Divine Mercy;  
 Is flowing in Sabarmati.  
 The heart of Hasrat is full of Divine Light;  
 Shah Abdur Razzaq is eyewitness.<sup>70</sup>

Calling the spirit of Hazrat Ali, Hasrat says :

گمراہوں کی رہنمائی کیجئے  
 یا علیؑ مشکل کشائی کیجئے  
 جان حسرت ہے گرفتارِ مجار  
 حکم انعام رہائی کیجئے

Lead the astrayed people;  
 O Ali remove our difficulty.  
 Hasrat is surrounded by worldly thing;  
 Issue order for his release.<sup>71</sup>

Police chargesheet was submitted in the District Magistrate's court the case of Hasrat Mohani under sections 124-A and 121 of the I.P.C. The case was heard in the Session Court of Ahmedabad on 26<sup>th</sup> April, 1922. The Jury<sup>72</sup> and

70 . Hasrat Mohani, op.cit.,p.290.

71 . Ibid., pp. 300-301.

72 . The Jury in the case of Hasrat Mohani consisted of Vasudev Ghont, Waheed Shaikh Husain, Abdur Raheem Rasaladar, Shankarlal Sharmaji and Kalidas Sankarji.

assessors did not find Hasrat guilty of all charges. The Viceroy wrote to the Secretary of State about it and finding no fault with Hasrat his case was suspended till May 3, 1922.<sup>73</sup> It was after this judgement that the Special Secretary, Government of Bombay, wrote to Secretary, Home Department Government of India: "Jury and assessors found Hasrat Mohani not guilty on all charges. Judgement will be delivered today".<sup>74</sup>

However, on 4<sup>th</sup> May 1922, the very next day, the Session Judge F.A. Desouza declared his Judgment through which Hasrat Mohani was sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment.<sup>75</sup> Accordingly, he was now shifted from Ahmadabad Sabarmati jail, to the Yervada jail in Poona.<sup>76</sup>

It was in the beginning of his stay in this jail that Hasrat was charged with illegally receiving an Urdu newspaper and a *Chronicle* from outside the jail through (with the help of) Saifan Rasool (Warder in Yervada Jail). He was also charged that Hasrat would have given bribe to him in cash.<sup>77</sup>

Hasrat was charged under the section 42 of the Prison's Act IX 1894 for illicitly receiving newspapers from outside the jail with the help of Saifan Rasul. Whom he paid Rs. 1/-.<sup>78</sup>

In the mean time, the Public Prosecutor P. Bunter filed a complaint on 8<sup>th</sup> August in the Court of the District Magistrate Poona charging Hasrat Mohani in these words :

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73 . Home Political (Secret), F.No. 489/1922, National Archives of India, New Delhi, p. 26.

74 . Ibid., p. 26.

75 . See, *The All India Reporter*, 1922, Bombay Section, Published by V.V. Chhitley, Nagpur, CP., 1922, pp. 284-89 (See Appendix No. IV).

76 . K.H. Qadiri, *Hasrat Mohani*, Delhi, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1985, p. 237.

77 . Home Political (Secret), F.No. 229/1924, National Archives of India, New Delhi, p. 47.

78 . Ibid., p. 47.

“On the 8<sup>th</sup> of August last the Public Prosecutor Mr. P. Bunter filed a complaint in the court of the District Magistrate Poona charging accused 1<sup>79</sup> with having on 21<sup>st</sup> July last, handed over the above newspapers, the note and a rupee to accused 2<sup>80</sup> with a request that he should deliver the newspapers and the chit to a *Khalifa* in the Poona. Cantonment; and accused 2 with having accepted the rupee for smuggling out the newspapers and the chit, and expecting to get a further reward from a harbor at the khalifa under the above sections.

“The complaint was transferred by the District Magistrate to this court on 10<sup>th</sup> August last.”<sup>81</sup>

Sakharam Pandu, the Head Warder participated in the proceeding of the Court with many evidences and it was proved that Mohani was involved in it.<sup>82</sup> The latter too confessed in the Court that he had given newspaper to Saifan Rasul as waste papers. Punishment was awaited but they were allowed to make appeals. Both the accused thus admitted the material facts of the case against them.<sup>83</sup> Hasrat did not appeal against the judgment due to non-cooperation movement but Saifan submitted his appeal in the Court of Session Judge, Poona, in 1923. But his appeal was rejected on 26 November 1923.<sup>84</sup> However, carrying on his efforts against the Judgment, Saifan Rasul now moved to the Bombay High Court. But there too his appeal was dismissed. Hasrat Mohani

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<sup>79</sup> . Prisoner Hasrat Mohani a convict in Yervada Jail.

<sup>80</sup> . Saifan Rasul a paid warder in the Yervada Jail.

<sup>81</sup> . Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>82</sup> . Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>83</sup> . For the details of the case, see Ibid., pp. 48-57.

<sup>84</sup> . Ibid., p. 46.

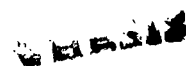
did not file appeal against the orders passed against him by the Session Court of Poona (Pune).<sup>85</sup>

In Yarvada Jail also, Hasrat Mohani was kept in a condemned cell and given more hard labour. Often he was flogged and beaten. Indulal Yajnik, the author of the famous work *Gandhi As I Know Him* says “We were not allowed any newspapers except one or two Indian monthly magazines. I was, therefore, surprised when one day my friend Mr. Ali gave me a bundle of English newspapers and told me ‘you may read them and put them on fire. In any case do not show them to Mr. Gandhi. But he will be glad to get any news you derive from them’. Thereafter, I began to receive at irregular intervals bundles of newspaper from Maulana Hasrat Mohani, the great Mohammedan poet of north India, who was confined in the condemned cell, as he was considered dangerous political prisoner. He was often given severe punishment as (pen) knives writing materials and newspapers were found in his cell against the orders of the jail authorities. But in spite of every punishment and in spite of his complete isolation, he somehow managed to get newspapers and sent them with red and blue pencil marked to us asking us to draw Mr. Gandhi’s attention to the marked news. Every time I read these newspapers I went to Mr. Gandhi and gave him all the news which he received with much interest. He always laughed heartily at the clever tricks by which Mr. Mohani managed to smuggle the newspapers and applauded his courage and heroism, though he differed from his doctrine of violent revolution”.<sup>86</sup>

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85 . Ibid., pp. 44-45.

86 . Indulal Yajnik, *Gandhi As I know Him*, Delhi, 1943, pp. 308-9.





The question of Hasrat's release from the jail was also a question of great importance. Moulvi Miyan Asadullah, a honourable member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, is reported to have made efforts in this context. According to a report of the Home Department, Government of Bombay, regarding the proceeding of the State's Legislative Assembly, he had given notice of an amendment to a Government resolution regarding the release of Mahatma Gandhi that the words 'and Maulana Hasrat Mohani' be inserted between the words 'Mahatma Gandhi' and the words 'be immediately'. It is unnecessary for me to trace the reasons why Hasrat Mohani was prosecuted and convicted, or to set forth again the reasons why Government cannot possibly accept any resolution proposing his release. The salient points stated in his speech in the Assembly were –

“I do not think however that there is any necessity to refer particularly to Hasrat Mohani's past in the debate on Gandhi's release. The points, I think, which might be very briefly touched.

“That it is a matter of extreme surprise that a man like Hasrat Mohani should be linked with Gandhi in this resolution. It can hardly symbolize a Hindu Muhammadan entente; and to unite in one resolution the apostle of peace, as Gandhi has been described, with one who had to be carried into court by two European warders, because he had flatly refused to enter it otherwise is in the nature of comic relief.

“So recently as July last the Assembly emphatically rejected a resolution for his release. He was sentenced on the 3rd May 1922 to two years imprisonment on three charges, the sentences run concurrently. The sentence

therefore would normally expire without remission on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May next. Had he behaved himself well? he would have earned remissions which would have secured his release every shortly from now. There would then be no object in debating the question of his release.

“He has only himself to blame for continued detention in Jail. He has been convicted of prison offences, since he was unable to behave himself properly. These offences against prison discipline are not in any sense political offences and it is ridiculous for such matters to be debated in the Central Legislature. Extracts regarding his trail for jail offences are placed below.

“In any case I hardly think the amendment regarding Hasrat Mohani need to be taken very seriously”.<sup>87</sup>

The same type of notice was presented in the Legislative Council on 2 February, 1924, by its another honourable member Shaikh Sadiq Hasan also. In response, the Secretary of the Legislative Assembly informed Sadiq Hasan: “This Assembly respectfully recommends to the Governor General in Council to remit the remaining portion of the sentence of Maulana Hasrat Mohani and to order his release forthwith”.<sup>88</sup>

Sadiq Hasan’s resolution for the releasing of Hasrat Mohani was presented in the Assembly Session of 26<sup>th</sup> February, 1924, for resolution on 15 February, 1924. Mr. C. Duraiswami Iyengar first notice for the discussion of the resolution. “This Assembly respectfully recommends to the Governor in Council that Maulana Hasrat Mohani be immediately and unconditionally released”.<sup>89</sup>

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87 . Home Political (Secret), F.No. 229/1924, National Archives of India, New Delhi, pp. 15-17.

88 . Ibid., p. 19.

89 . Ibid., p. 22.

He was convicted under 124A I.P.C. in May, 1922, and was sentenced to 2 years Rigorous Imprisonment on these Courts the sentences to run concurrently. He would, therefore in any case. Hasrat is due for release in two months time and had his jail conduct been such as to earn remission he would in the normal sense of events have been released just about a shortly after this resolution will be deleted. There same material in Swami Iyenger's speech in the Assembly last July. But there the feeling of the house was decidedly against Hasrat Mohani on the Mohammedan convicted the Karachi trail. Since then there has been a change and the appetite of the hence for the release of political prisoners has been whilted by the release of Lajpat Rai and Gandhi both primarily on medical grounds.<sup>90</sup>

It was however impossible to compare Hasrat Mohani with Mahatma Gandhi. As in the Sessions of the Muslim League and the National Congress at Ahmedabad in 1921 he stood out for complete independence for the establishment of an Indian Republic and for the adoption of violent methods, he was not a political prisoner in the sense of the manifesto just issued by the Independent Labour Party at home to change the Congress creed too that all possible and proper means might be adopted to secure their instead of legitimate and peaceful. His speech as President of the All-India Muslim League was a reasoned exposition of the need for complete independence and of the establishment of an Indian Republic. It was deliberate and not uttered in the heat of the passion. It is lonely too much to describe it as revolutionary in tore and cleanly contemplates the adoption of methods of violence. The sessions consequences of such a speech at the time and in the circumstances in

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90 . Ibid., pp. 24-25.

which it was delivered can hardly be exaggerated and it was openly laying down a challenge which no self respecting Government could overlook.<sup>91</sup>

Hasrat was put, as mentioned above, in a Condemned Cell. This was done because he was charged of communicating things to outside people. He was held there for closest possible observation. He was, however, transferred to a cell in another section of the Jail a month ago. The condition of the cell was not satisfactory. There was no light in any of the cells at night. He was given as much water as he wanted and had an extra pot for devotional purpose.<sup>92</sup>

Noor Mohammad, Hyderabad, a member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, the Session of Assembly asked the following questions in its Session.

“(a) Will government be pleased to state whether Maulana Fazlul Hasan Hasrat Mohani, now a prisoner in the Yervada Jail, has been put in a separate division?

(b) Has he been allowed any interviews with his relations while confined at the Yervada Jail? If so, when ?

(c) Is it a fact that he is lodged in a separate cell ?

(d) Are the adjoining cells occupied by any person ?

(e) Is he allowed to talk or to mix with any prisoner ?

((f) On what work is he put ?

(g) What diet is he given ?

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91 . Ibid., pp. 26-27.

92 . Ibid., p. 63.

(h) Is he allowed books, will Government please say what kind of books is he supplied with”.<sup>93</sup>

The Honourable Sir Maurice Hayward replied that point wise:

“Maulana Fazlul Hasan Hasrat Mohani has not been put in the separate division. He is undergoing a sentence of Rigorous Imprisonment and is therefore not eligible.

(a) Since his arrival in Yeravda Prison, he had interviews with his wife and other relations on the following dates:- On 22<sup>nd</sup> September with his wife and son-in-law and on 11<sup>th</sup> September 1923, 12 September 1923, 26 October 1923 and 26<sup>th</sup> January 1924 with his wife.

(c) He is kept in a separate cell under the provisions of Rule 783(7), Bombay Jail Manual, as he is refractory in that he persistently refuses to work.

(d) The adjoining cells on each side of him are occupied by other prisoners.

(e) He is allowed to talk to other prisoners during the hour morning and evening when he is taken out of his cell for food, exercise and bathing.

(f) He persistently refused to do work of any sort.

(g) He is given ordinary prison diet. He is also permitted to receive two oranges daily at his own expense.

(h) He is allowed a copy of the *Quran* only.

(i) He is allowed to have no other book except the *Quran* owing to his refractory behaviour. Other books are a privilege given to well conducted prisoners vide Rule 488, Bombay Jail Manual”.<sup>94</sup>

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93 . Ibid., p. 70.

On 20 March 1924 Poonji Bhai Thackery, a honoureeable member of the Legislative Council, moved in the Council the resolution : “The Council recommends to the Governor in Council that Hasrat Mohani be released immediately and unconditionally”.<sup>95</sup> Mr. Poonji Bhai in the course of his speech said: “By this resolution this council recommends to the Government to remit unconditionally the unexpired term of imprisonment of Maulana Hasrat Mohani, the great Mohammedan scholar and divine of upper India. He was tried and sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment in April 1921, for a speech he had delivered at the Ahmedabad Congress. Admittedly he is a political prisoner, not an ordinary criminal and had not our Government been actuated by motives of a questionable character about our political workers they would have respected the resolution of the last Council and treated the Maulana and all other political prisoners as first class misdemanants as in England. At that time the Hon. Sir Maurice Hayward, our Home Member, admitted that it was natural that we Indians should feel regret that our best educated and respectable members of our society moved by impracticable idealism were not treated more leniently like those guilty of seditious liable in the first division of offenders in England”.<sup>96</sup>

Maulana did not appeal against the decision of the District Magistrate not because he, in any way, doubted his innocence or thought himself to be guilty, but simply on the ground that as a non-cooperator he could not seek redress from a Government. But he appeared in person before the acting Chief Justice, Sir Lallubhai Shah and Mr. Justice Crump, and submitted a written

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94 . Ibid., p. 70.

95 . Ibid., p. 71.

96 . *Bombay Chronicle*, Bombay, 20 March, 1924.

statement in reply to the reference and upheld the findings of the Jury. He also acquitted himself of the charges under Section 121. Since there was no appeal against the sentence under section 124A, the Maulana had to undergo rigorous imprisonment for 2 years. It was now useless to surmise what would have been the fate of Sessions Judge's decision in respect of 124A in appeal before the High Court. It is also not appropriate at this moment to go behind the judgement or say anything on the merits of the case or on the demerits of a trial of a Sessions case with the aid of Assessors, who are no better than lookers on in a judicial panorama of a criminal nature.

“Not more than 2 or 3 months now remain in the expiry of the original sentences, but to our greatest regret we find him long before its expiry involved in another case, though not as serious as those of the abetment to wage war of sedition and exciting disaffection against Government established by law in British India. It was a petty case for breaking jail regulations, it is alleged Maulana Hasrat Mohani gave to a warder some newspapers to be returned to a man outside the jail and a rupee for bringing one *anna* piece was appears from a letter said to be written by him to the same person. He was prosecuted under 161. I.P.C. and section 42 of the Jail Manual along with the warder.

“The trying Magistrate, it seems, was greatly annoyed with Hasrat Mohani's conduct and considered his efforts, to bring jail irregularities to light as his pleasure in breaking jail rules, and therefore punished him for 2 years under section 161 and six months under section 42. The warder received six months in all i.e. 3 months on each count. As usual he did not appeal but the warder did and as appears from the '*Times of India*' Justice Sir Lallubhai Shah

observed that in the case have been passed in respect of two offences committed in one transaction. It was not quite clear that the two separate sentences were justified under the circumstances but he did not interfere and upheld the decision of the lower court on the ground that the period did not exceed the sentence under either of the sections concerned.

### **“More Guilty of Omission Than Commission**

“Again I do not like to challenge the validity of the judgement though much can be said about both the charges. All that I like to bring to your notice is that Maulana Hasrat is more guilty (if at all) of omission than of commission.

“His only fault was that the like the all other non-cooperators of his class, he did not try to test the validity of the judgement passed against him.

“It is needless to state that his original term of imprisonment is to expire shortly and he will have now to undergo a longer sentence for no other serious offence than those of breaking some jail rules. The Bombay Government changed its attitude and policy with the release of Savarkar, gratified the Indian Public by the unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi and it is high time that Maulana Hasrat Mohani should also be released. The Maulana is not only a learned divine respected by all Mohammedans whether co-operators or non-cooperators, but he is a fine Urdu scholar and a poet. These considerations were enough to entitle him to some considerations at the hands of the Government. He should at least have been given all the privileges which his status in life required but Government wanted to be vindictive for his political views. They would not give him books or newspapers or writing materials. They refused his interviews and made his life in prison unbearable. They



wanted not only to imprison his body but wanted also to imprison his mind which they wanted to starve. He must not think and he must not get food for thinking a poet to deny paper and pen to give vent to his political feelings. Such a thing is possible only in the regime of the most autocratic Government irresponsible to the people. Let Hon. the Home Member now asserts his true instincts of an Englishman, respecting as Honourable political opponent and say whether in his own country a man would be condemned to a solitary cell for two and a half years for breaking an irksome jail rule. If he broke the rule, the responsibility lies on the Government who put him in those circumstances. A starving man could be excused if he steals a bread to keep his body and soul together. Similarly, an educated man can be excused if he gets a newspaper by steal for he refuse to die a mental death and to sentence him to two and a half years for such a thing is monstrous. He was sentenced for 2 years for seditious but two and a half years for breaking and irksome jail rule. He hope this Council will tell Government to be responsible and to change their heart and set free our political prisoners so that the present tension between Government and people may lessen. By the release of Mahatma Gandhi Government have eased the situation. Let them go a step forward and release the Maulana and win the golden opinion of the Mohammedans and Hindus alike. The Assembly has recently passed a resolution for his release and I hope that this House will accept my resolution, and will show the Government that it will not tolerate harsh and inhuman treatment given to our political prisoner in jail.

“Lastly I appeal to the Home Member to accept the resolution on the grounds of humanity of which he has presented a good deal to this House. His sympathy and good faith are on trail. Action is better than word and if

Government would respond to the feeling of the House then in House would respond to the wishes the Government and thus there will be separation and smoothness in the future.

“Dr. M.B. Velkar (Bombay South) in supporting the resolution said that the Maulana was increate not for any crime but for the love of this country which he loved so passionately it was a crime of patriotism. The sentence which was passing upon him was due to speeches in the when he lead to make theological study of the whole question. This was in fact warning to Government permit the Government defied the real sentiment of the country and that if they killed. Non-violent, non-cooperation there were becoming violent in the country. The non-constitutional movement ariegged against him was a misnomer as there were no constitution in India.

“Noor Mohammad (Hyderabad) said, in the history of every struggling nations time came when to liberty their children had to undergo hardship. It was the case even in England all parts of the world, and so it was India, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and her political prisoners had gone to as a sacrifice for the love of their country. He appealed the elected Indian Ministers and the Brahamins and the non-Brahmins to vote solidly for the revolution and thus show the manhood of India to the other nations of the world. Maulana Hasrat Mohani had broken jail rules because he considered that the sentence imposed upon him was unjust. Mahatma Gandhi observed the jail rules because he said that the sentence passed upon his, was just. The Maulana was a political prisoner and it was not right out the part of the Government to strove him mentally by depriving him from reading newspapers. He then made reference

of some English prisoners of war in the hands of the Turks who thought they gave a word of honour not to escape yet ran away.

“Home Secretary Montgomerie, asked the Hon. President if a reference could be made by the Hon. Member on the conduct of H.M.’s officers without being substantiated.

**“Hon. President :** It is a very serious charge against H.M.’s officers to make without substantiation.

“Mr. Noor Mohammad withdrew the statement and said Maulana Hasrat Mohani was a political prisoner and he should be treated as a prisoner and he should be treated as a prisoner of war but instead of treating him with the dignity of a prisoner of war he was placed in the Ahmedabad jail in solitary confinement. He condemned the cellular confinement given to him for six months which, he said, should not be given more than a week and urged the House to pass the resolution.

**“Home Member’s Opposition :**

“Sir Maurice Hayward (Home Member) said Maulana Hasrat Mohani did not reside in his Presidency, but came from U.P.. In 1903 he graduated and took his B.A. degree at the Oriental College, Aligarh, and in 1908 took up literary work and was sentenced to imprisonment. In 1909 he was released before the expiry of the sentence. In 1913 security was demanded from him. In 1915 he attended the All-India Muslim League when he disturbed the peaceful atmosphere. In 1916 he was interned on suspicion of having connection with Kabul and in the same year he was sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment. In 1918 he was released under general amnesty. In 1921 he

attended the National Congress, Muslim League, and the *Khilafat* Conference at Ahmedabad where he attempted to move the resolution of independence. At the Congress, Mahatma Gandhi's efforts defeated his object and at the *Khilafat* Conference, Hakim Ajmal Khan ruled him out of order, but Muslim League as its President, he made utterances of the objectionable word which he was prevented elsewhere and as a consequence proceedings were taken against him. His speech was one which was impossible for the Government to overlook. In his speech he said that peaceful methods were opposed to natural and just aspiration of the Muslims and he wanted independence on the line of the American Republic and said 'Kill the opponents where they are found'. It was, he said, a very serious speech which no responsible Government could countenance. In October, 1922, a few months after his conviction he was founding letters from the Sabarmati Jail and the result was that the officials of the jail were punished. To a visiting official who remonstrated with him for this breach of rules he said 'I will keep on writing, nothing will prevent me' When he was removed from Sabarmati to Yervada, he refused to move and he was bodily removed to his compartment in the train.

**"Mr. Nariman : Release him then (Laughter)**

"Sir Maurice Hayward, continuing said the only thing that could be done was therefore to cut down his privilege in the jail, but he was not given solitary confinement and whenever taking exercise he was privileged to talk with other prisoners and besides there were cells adjoining his. The unfortunate incident of smuggling newspapers at Yervada brought punishment on other warders who were also convicted and sentenced. In regard to the sentence imposed

upon Hasrat, Sir Maurice said he was glad to inform the House that the Court of Appeal that day had confirmed the sentence, but reduced it to six months imprisonment under each head, the sentence to run concurrently. His original sentence of two years under section 124, he said would expire this month and the sentence for the breach of prison discipline which was awarded of two years and a half on two counts would begin probably from the next month so that he had to suffer only six months imprisonment. In the Jail he was a very difficult prisoner and the only thing Government could do would be in view of the peculiar temperament of Maulana Hasrat Mohani to treat him suitably in regard to the punishment.

“M.R. Jayakar (Bombay University) said : In supporting this resolution, I have to invite the attention of the House to a few relevant considerations. I do not wish to go behind the fact of the Maulana's conviction confirmed in the Appeal by the High Court. The resolution contained only a recommendation to Government to remit the unexpired portion of his sentence. The Hon. the Home Member has stated already that Maulana Hasrat Mohani has already been admitted to the benefit of remissions, and that the High Court has already reduced his sentence for bribery to six months. If that is so it is just a question of about six month's remission of sentence. May I tell the Government that the order the present Government to pacify feeling of which an earnest has been in the release of Mahatma Gandhi and Savarkar, is likely to remain incommensurate Mohammedan feeling are also acted by the release of one. Mohammedans regard him as a poet eminence and originality. It is clean his doctrine of independence is held by as an ideal which he endeavours too. It must be further

borne in mind mere political idols, unless they A social injury and harm, should punishable by the state.

“Mr. Joseph Baptista (Bombay North), Mr. L.B. Bhopatkar (Poona), J.P. Bunter (nominated) were participated at last Mr. Baptista said that, Magistrate had to go the cell of the Maulana to pronounce the sentence as he refused to come out and when the case was proceeded with he asked ‘In this the Magistrate or somebody brought from the street’. How am I to know that he is a Magistrate? He opposed the resolution After the Hon. Home Member replied the resolution was put to votes and carried without going to the division”.<sup>97</sup>

Hasrat Mohani’s sentence was commuted by the Government. Bombay Government Resolution dated the 26<sup>th</sup> March 1924, said: “In exercise of the power vested in him under section 401(1) of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor-in-Council hereby remits, with effect from the 13<sup>th</sup> February 1924, the remainder of the sentence of 2 year’s rigorous imprisonment passed upon Hasrat Mohani under Section 124A on the 4<sup>th</sup> May, 1922, and commutes under section 402 of the said Code, the sentence of 6 month’s rigorous imprisonment upon him on the 1<sup>st</sup> October 1923 under Section 161 read with section 109 of the Indian Penal Code, and section 42 of the Prison Act, IX, of 1894, read with Article 485 of the Bombay Jail Manual, to one of simple imprisonment for the same period, the latter sentence to commence from the 13<sup>th</sup> February, 1924.

“His Excellency is further pleased to select Hasrat Mohani for treatment in a separate division sanctioned under the orders contained in Government resolution no 123 dated the 6<sup>th</sup> February 1924”.<sup>98</sup>

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97. *Bombay Chronicle*, Bombay, 20 March, 1924.

98. *Times of India*, Bombay, 29 March, 1924.

The *Bombay Chronicle* published on 29 March, 1924, in its column 'Notes of the Day' under the title 'Maulana Hasrat Mohani: "The public of this Presidency will not be satisfied with the half-hearted concession made by Government in the case of Maulana Hasrat Mohani. The recommendation made both in the Assembly and the local council was for the immediate release of the Maulana. The concession just announced do not amount too much as so far as the Maulana is concerned they will make no difference at all to him. He had consistently refused to do any work in the jail under pressure and he is innuted to hardship. Hence the commutation of his second sentence to simple imprisonment will hardly bring an improvement in his present lot. He being placed in the 'special' divisions, will also make little difference to him. As to the remission of the remaining portion of the earlier sentence, that too is a matter of less than two months, since the original term was bound to expire in May. It is the imprisonment itself of the Maulana any longer that is objected to by the public more than his treatment in jail. When it is the unanimous wish of the Maulana's countrymen that he should be released forthwith. Is it proper on the part of Government to adopt a haggling attitude? The refusal of restore the Maulana to freedom, even after the strong recommendations of the Assembly and the Council, can only be construed by the public as a deliberate defiance of popular will by the Government of Bombay".<sup>99</sup>

On 11<sup>th</sup> August 1924 Hasrat Mohani was released from the Yervada Jail in Poona (Pune). First he came to Bombay where he stayed in a house in Byculla's locality. On 12<sup>th</sup> August 1924 he left from the Bari Bander Station

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99 . *Bombay Chronicle*, Bombay, 29 March, 1924.

(Victoria Terminus) for coming to Kanpur to join his family.<sup>100</sup> Mahatma Gandhi declared reception on this occasion in these words: “So the great Hasrat Mohani is to be released on the 12<sup>th</sup> instant. He is to be in Ahmedabad on his way to Cawnpore (Kanpur). A great reception is in store for him wherever he goes. I do not know what views he hold today. As everybody knows, I differ from him in many ways. His views of conduct even in jail are so hopelessly different from mine. His views on Swedeshi are in my opinion even dangerous. But our differences notwithstanding, my respect for him, his patriotism, his learning, is very great. He has a tenacity of purpose which is the every of friends and despair of foes. He has suffered for his religion and his country as very few of us have done. I hope, therefore, that he will have rousing reception wherever he goes.”<sup>101</sup>

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100 . Khaleeqe Anjum, *Hasrat Mohani*, New Delhi, Publication Division, Government of India, 1994, p. 185.

101 . *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. XXIV, (Reprint), Publication Division, Government of India, New Delhi, 1979, p. 528.



## **Chapter – V**

### ***Political Role from 1924-1937***

## CHAPTER – V

### POLITICAL ROLE FROM 1924-1937

#### 5.1 Hasrat and Communist Movement in India

The greatest revolution in the history of Russia took place in 17 October 1917, known as Bolshevik Revolution when Russia under the leadership of Lenin<sup>1</sup> succeeded in de-throning the ruling family of Czars from the power. Lenin not only ousted the ruling family but also removed the feudal system and capitalism from his country and instead of these evils, introduced Socialism. Russian revolution effected the whole world. The echo of this revolution was heard in India also. The famous Urdu writer and novelist Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, who himself had deeply involved in spreading the Communist Movement in Indian Sub-Continent, writes in one of his articles: “When the news of Russian Revolution reached India, the greatest leader of India’s freedom struggle was Balgangadhar Tilak who was not only a politician but a journalist and a historian as well. He was aware of its political and historical importance. So it is very important that Lokmanya Tilak welcomed the Russian Revolution”.<sup>2</sup>

The revolution also effected those young Indians who were taking active part in the freedom movement. Maulana Hasrat was the follower of Tilak and had a revolutionary thinking. So it was natural that he felt attracted to this

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- 1 . Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924). Born Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov in Russia and commonly known by the names Lenin, was a Russian revolutionary, Bolshevik Communist politician, principle leader of the October Revolution and the first head of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (U.S.S.R.).
  - 2 . Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, *Roos ka October Inqilab Aur Hindustan*, in *Blitz* (Urdu weekly) Bombay, 5 November 1966, p. 12.

revolution. When communism came into picture, Hasrat also started thinking about it pathetically.

When Hasrat was in Sabarmati Jail in Ahmedabad, he was granted permission to read newspapers by Jail authorities. But when he was transferred to Yervada Jail in Poona that privilege of reading of newspapers was not provided to him. But he somehow arranged the newspapers.<sup>3</sup> It was in those days that the Socialist Government was established in Russia. Hasrat composed several couplets related to socialist ideas.

ملکی ہوئی جائداد شخصی  
جائز نہ رہا مفاد شخصی  
قومی کے مقابلے میں حسرت  
تھا بچ بھی اتحاد شخصی

Personal property has become national;

Personal interest is not legal.

O'Hasrat, in comparison to national;

Personal unity also had no value.<sup>4</sup>

نہ سرمایہ داروں کی نخوت رہے گی  
نہ حکام کا جور بیجا رہے گا  
زمانہ وہ جلد آنے والا ہے جس میں  
کسی کا نہ محنت پہ دعویٰ رہے گا

3 . Nafees Ahmad Siddiqi, *Hasrat Mohani Aur Inqilab-i Azadi*, Patna, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, 1998, p. 386.

4 . Hasrat Mohani, *Kulliyat-i Hasrat Mohani*, (Reprint), Delhi, Nomani Publishing House, 1977, p. 302.

The proud of Capitalist will perish soon;  
Neither tyranny of rulers will continue.

The time is to come soon;  
Every one will get the reward of his labour.<sup>5</sup>

دستور کے اصول مسلم ٹھہر چکے  
شاہی بھی رام غلبہ جمہور ہو چکی  
سرمایہ داروں سے لڑاں ہیں کیوں نہ ہو  
معلوم سب کو قوت مزدور ہو چکی

The Principles of the Constitution have become complete;  
Monarchy also has been dominated by democracy.

Capitalist are trembling from fear, why they should not be so;  
All have come to know the might of labourer.<sup>6</sup>

Hasrat did not only understand the quality of communist ideas itself but frequently discussed it with Mahatma Gandhi. The latter seems to have accepted it. He says "Now after talking to it has all become very clear to me. In the jail, I read all the Communist literature (I could get). It contained nothing new for me. Whenever Maulana Hasrat Mohani visited the Ashram, we used to spend the day in such discussion".<sup>7</sup>

Gandhiji also wrote in *Young India*

"No work, No Vote, dated 23 September 1924 Maulana Hasrat Mohani brought me the other day the constitution of the Russian Soviet, and told me that I should read it, if only to find a striking resemblance between the Soviet

5. Ibid., p. 344.

6. Ibid., p. 352.

7. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. 78, New Delhi Publication Division, Government of India, 1979, p. 69.

constitution and that of the Congress. I have cursorily read that constitution, and whilst there is undoubtedly a striking resemblance in form between the two constitutions, showing that there is nothing new or original under the sun, there are also vital differences into which need not to go. But the one thing that captivated me was the formula of 'no work, no vote'. The qualification under the Soviet constitution is not money, not even four *annas*, not landed property, not even education, but honest labour. Thus the Soviet Congress is a workers Congress. The philosophers, the professors, and all others must do some labour. What form that labour takes, I do not know. As I gave it only a few minutes, even if the information is to be found in the booklet, it has escaped me. The important and relevant fact is that every voter has to show sound work. My proposal therefore that everyone henceforth who desires to belong to the Congress organization should have some labour for the nation to his credit is neither original nor ridiculous. Seeing that a great nation has accepted before us the formula, we need not be ashamed of copying it. Labour given for only a few minutes per day to be fruitful must be of the same kind for the millions. And there is nothing but hand-spinning which can be made universal in a big country like ours.

“But it has been urged that my proposal is not a mere labour proposal; it surreptitiously raises the pecuniary qualification. No matter how fine the yarn may be, the quantity for the year can never be brought down so low as to cost four *annas*. But the critics forget, that I have said in the article in which I sketched the proposal, that those who cannot afford cotton should have it given to them by the Provincial Congress Committees, so that the free gift of cotton the proposal, that those who cannot afford cotton should have it given to them

by the Provincial Congress committees, so that the free gift of cotton would be under my plan a donation, not a subscription".<sup>8</sup>

Gandhi had not become Communist but he realized the importance of work done by communists. According to Ahmar Lari : "After 1920 in every industrial units Communist circles were established in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Kanpur and Lahore. Even in Germany and Russia, the Indians established Communist circles".<sup>9</sup>

In 1920, Communist Party of India established Tashkent<sup>10</sup>, this party was also known as emigre Communist Party of India because it was formed on foreign soil by a group of revolutionary terrorists and *muhajirs* who had left India in order to get rid off British domination. M.N. Roy<sup>11</sup> played a crucial and important role in organization and formation of the Communist Party of India.<sup>12</sup>

Hence an alternative was provided by these Communists to get independence for India. As Communism in its principle was against colonialism, the process began and M.N. Roy started correspondence with important radical Indian freedom fighters to start communist activities in India.

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8 . Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. XXV, op.cit., p. 203-04.

9 . Ahmar Lari, *Hasrat Mohani Hayat aur Karnamein*, Gorakhpur, Adbistan, 1973, p. 46.

10 . Satyabhakt, *Bharat Mein Communism*, Mathura, Sharma Press, 1973, p. 24.

11 . M.N. Roy (1887-1954). Manabendra Nath Roy whom Lenin once called 'the symbol of Revolution in the East' was the most colourful personality of all non-Russian Communist in the era of Lenin and Stalin. Roy rose very high in the International Communist hierarchy in the twenties, and rapidly too. He was elected a candidate member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1922 and a full member in 1924. He was elected a member of the Presidium and of the Secretariat and was in charge of organizing the communist movement in Asia and training and education of Asiatic Communist. See Samaren Roy, *The Twice Born Heretic M.N. Roy and Comintern*, Calcutta, Firma KLM Private Limited, 1986.

12 . See for details, G. Adhikari, (ed.), *Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India*, vol. II, New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1982, p. 607.

Leaders like S.A. Dange<sup>13</sup>, Muzaffar Ahmad<sup>14</sup>, Sengaravelu Chettiar, Hasrat Mohani, Satya Bhakt etc. played important role in organization and formation of the Communist Party on Indian soil. Hasrat Mohani and others were taking initiative to organize a communist conference in December 1925. Its first session took place on 25 December 1925 in a special *pandal* in Kanpur. Nearly 300 delegates attended the Conference.<sup>15</sup> The fees of Reception Committee was rupees five. Two hundred or three hundreds were collected by this way but Hasrat played a key role in the collection of this amount also. Whenever there was shortage of funds, he anyhow arranged for the conference. To erect a

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13. S.A. Dange (1899 - ) Shripad Amrit Dange was born in October 1899 in Marathi Brahmin family in Nasik. He went to school in Nasik, and joined the Wilson College after passing matriculation examination in 1918. Meanwhile the non-cooperation movement had been launched by Gandhi after the Nagpur Congress, and Dange gave up his studies and plunged into the movement. Like many of his contemporaries Dange became disillusioned about Gandhi's method after the collapse of the non-cooperation movement and wrote a remarkable book entitled 'Gandhi Vs. Lenin' in March 1921 which revealed his socialist leanings and attracted the attention of M.N. Roy. It proved to be the turning point in Dange's life; he came to communism via Nationalism. In the following year he started. The Socialist the first communist journal in India, which continued to be edited by him until his arrest in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy case in February 1924. See details G.Adhikari (ed.) *Document of the History of the Communist Party of India*, vol. I, II & III, New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1982.

14. Ahmad Muzaffar (1889-1972). He was born in a poor lower middle class family in the Island of Sandwip in Noakhali district, now in Bangladesh, on 5 August 1899. Due to intense poverty, his early education was very much hampered. He studied at Sandwip Middle English school from 1905 to 1910 and at the Noakhali Zila School from 1910 to 1912, from where he passed the Matriculation Examination in 1913. He became attracted to politics in 1916 and from that year he began to participate in political meetings and demonstrations. He was drawn to Marxist literature in the early twenties. News of the Russian Revolution had trickled through in the country in spite of the British Governments precautionary measures. Early in 1922 he was able to establish contact with the Third International at Moscow through M.N. Roy who was incharge of Indian Affairs of the Third International. The Government of India became alarmed at the rapid growth of the Bolshevik ideas and spread of communist literature and decided to institute several conspiracy case against the communist elements in India. Muzaffar Ahmad was first sought to be implicated in the Peshawar Communist Conspiracy case in 1922-24, but was ultimately absolved. He was, however, arrested in May 1923 on suspicion and detained under Regulation III of 1818. An April 1924 while still in prison he, along with three others, was sent up for trial in the Kanpur Bolshevik conspiracy case and sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment. During this imprisonment he became seriously ill and released on medical grounds in September 1925. Three months latter he attended the Kanpur Communist Conference, the first the Kanpur Communist Conference in India. He was largely instrumental in forming a Central Executive Committee of the different communist group in India. See Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself and the Communist Party of India (1920-1929)*, Calcutta, National Book Agency Private Ltd., 1970.

15. G. Adhikari, vol. II, op.cit., p. 613.

*Pandal* was a difficult thing as it required more money. But Hasrat erected a small *Pandal* for the conference just outside the *Pandal* of the Congress.<sup>16</sup> For that purpose he not only arranged the land just outside the Congress *Pandal* but any how made arrangements for erecting a *pandal* there. In those days this all may have cost Rs. three hundred.<sup>17</sup>

The First Indian Communist Conference met at Kanpur on the 26<sup>th</sup> December, 1925. Mr. Singaravelu, the President, delivered lengthy address in course of which he explained the aims and objects of the Indian Communist Party which he declared, stood for the emancipation of workers from their present state of economic bondage. The Party he continued aimed at securing the rights of the working classes and establishing a workers state in India under any system of Self-Government.<sup>18</sup>

Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Chairman of the Reception Committee, described the aims of the Party to be the establishment of a Soviet Constitution in India after the establishment of Swaraj. In the course of his address he said : “The Communist movement is the movement of peasants and workers. The people of India generally agree with the principles and aims and objects of the movement, but owing to certain misunderstandings, some weak and nervous people fear the very name of Communism, although these misunderstandings have been deliberately set on foot by capitalists and others who are opposed to it. Some, for instance, consider that Communism necessarily heads for bloodshed and terrorism. The only basic, for the wrong notion is that we

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16 . Satyabhakat, op.cit., p. 47.

17 . Ibid., p. 50.

18 . H.N. Mitra (ed.) *The Indian annual Register 1925*, vol. II, (First Reprint) New Delhi, Gain Publishing House, 1990, p. 567.



sanction non-violence only as expedient and necessary, and do not, like Mahatma Gandhi, accept it as a fixed principle for all time. Again, some people wrongly allege that Communism and 'thine is mine' doctrine are one and the same. The fact is that we have divided property into two classes, viz. personal (e.g. watch, umbrella, utensils, beds, clothing, etc.) and private (like land, factories, etc.). The Communist principle applies only to private property and not to personal one.

The detailed programme of our Party which resembles the Soviet Constitution will be discussed by them and passed by this Conference. Our aims and objects are as follows:

"To establish Swaraj or complete Independence by all fair means. After the establishment of Swaraj, to see that it takes the form of the Soviet Republic on which all principles of Communism will come into force. Before the establishment of Swaraj to work for the freedom and prosperity of peasants and workers by all possible means and in this respect to co-operate with every political Party of India so far as they help the promotion of the above mentioned objects. To arrange for the propagation of the principles of Communism and create popular opinion in their favour so that they may be acted upon the moment Swaraj is established.

"Our organization is purely Indian. It is necessary to mention here that at least for the present the work of our Party will be restricted to India alone. Our relation with similar Parties of other countries will be only that of sympathy and mental affinity to *all these in general and to the Third International in particular*. We are only fellow travellers in our paths and not their subordinates.

Neither we give them any practical help, nor do they extend any financial aid to us.

“Some evilly disposed persons blame Communism as necessarily an anti-religious movement. The fact, however, is that in matters of religion we allow the largest possible latitude and toleration. Whosoever accepts our principles will be accepted in our Party whether he is a Muslim, a Hindu, a Christian, a Buddhist or anybody with or without any religion. In other words, we recognize the existence of all religions and consider even no religion also as a religion. Some of our Muslim leaders baselessly represent Communism as against Islam. The fact is, however, quite different. The opposition of Islam to Capitalism, for instance, is stronger than even the Communist conception of it and the obligation of *Zakat* is imposed mainly for the consideration that so long as there is one single hungry creature left, the capitalist have no right to indulge in business.

“The emphasis laid on the *Zakat* in the *Quran* is next only to prayers and the pious Caliph had ordered *jihad* against those who refused to pay *Zakat*. Besides the only reason of the prohibition of interest can be that the usurer profits by his capital alone without doing any actual labour and this is against the principles of Islam just as it is against Communism”.<sup>19</sup>

Hasrat said itself that ‘I am Muslim Communist’.<sup>20</sup> This following couplet explains this very clearly :

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19 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Kanpur, Ahmad-ul Mataba‘i, April & May & June 1926, p. 6-8. also see H.N. Mitra (ed.) op.cit., pp. 567-68.

20 . Ahmar Lari, op.cit., p. 114.

درویشی و انقلاب مسلک ہے میرا  
صوفی مومن ہوں اشتراکی مسلم

My way is the sainthood and revolution;

I am a sufi, momin (faithful) and Communist Muslim.<sup>21</sup>

According to Abdush Shakur : “Complete independence is my aim and objective, I am Communist, before it I was nationalist till 1925 yet farewell of nationalism and communism is our aim and objective”.<sup>22</sup>

In Kanpur 24<sup>th</sup> December, 1925, All India Khilafat Conference was also held. The all India Khilafat Conference opened its proceedings on the 24<sup>th</sup> December; Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was the President and Maulana Hasrat Mohani was the chairman of the Reception Committee. He said about the *Khilafat* : “Turks had no power to end the *Khilafat*, which must endure so long as Islam existed. It was only the responsibility for the office that the Turks had refused to assume. He held they were prepared to help the *Khilafat*”.<sup>23</sup>

The 40<sup>th</sup> Session of Indian National Congress commenced on the 28<sup>th</sup> December, 1925<sup>24</sup> in Kanpur. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was the first lady President of the Congress very interesting event related to Hasrat Mohani about which Satya Bhakt wrote –

“Just opposite of Congress *Pandal* apart from 600 yard was the *Pandal* of Conference. Maulana Hasrat Mohani alone with his wife and two or three hundred labours tied to enter the Congress *Pandal*. He was stopped there by the

21 . Hasrat Mohani, Ibid., p. 452.

22 . Abdush Shakur, *Hasrat Mohani*, Agra, Shah and Company, 1944, pp. 23-24.

23 . H.N. Mitra (ed.), op.cit., p. 342.

24 . H.N. Mittra (ed.), op.cit., p. 313.

volunteer of Congress under the leadership of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. Hasrat Mohani any how entered in it. Congress volunteers attacked him and told the people that Hasrat and his volunteers attacked on the Congress *Pandal*. During which former's leader Baba Ram Chandra of Pratapgarh and Swami Kumar Anand who were in the first row were injured, though Hasrat was the member of Congress, so he has every right to participate".<sup>25</sup>

The paragraph in which he defines the attitude towards the Communist International is cautiously worded yet with a slight positive approach. Further Hasrat Mohani, in his eagerness to win Muslims to communism, was uncritically placing Islam on a higher pedestal than communism.<sup>26</sup> Muzaffar Ahmad also criticized the speech of Hasrat Mohani.

The Communist Party of India aims and objectives : "As a result of the session of the First Communist Conference at Kanpur the Provincial Indian Communist Party was dissolved and a formal party with its name as the Communist Party of India' has been formed. The ultimate goal of the party will be the establishment of the workers and peasants republic in India. And the immediate object of the party shall be the securing of a living wage for the workers and peasants by means of nationalization and municipalisation of public services, namely land, mine, factories etc. such, other public utilities which require public ownership. The party shall for the attainment of the above object form labour and peasants union in urban and rural areas enter district and taluk boards, municipalities and assemblies and by such, other means and methods

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25 . Satya Bhakt, op.cit., p. 50.

26 . G. Adhikari (ed), *Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India*, V. II, New Delhi, Peoples Publishing house, 1982, pp. 614-615.

carry out the ideal and programme of the party with or without the cooperation of the existing political parties in the country.

“The Party shall have a central executive of 30 members returned by provincial committees and a council of seven members to execute all emergency matters.

“The Party shall consist of communists only who will pledge themselves to carry out its objects and no one who is a member of any Communal organization can be admitted as a member of this party.

“Every member shall pay eight *annas* annually as subscription for his membership to the enrolling secretaries”.<sup>27</sup>

Proceeding of the meeting of the central executive held on 28 December 1925. Hasrat Mohani's name in member of Central Executive of Communist Party of India.<sup>28</sup> The annual session of the Communist Party of India was held in Bombay on tuesday 31 May 1927. After the adoption of the executive's annual report Hasrat Mohani's name in Executive Committee.<sup>29</sup> The Central Executive Committee of the Communist party of India held at Calcutta on 27, 28 and 29 December 1928, certainly in semi-illegal conditions. Only minutes based on Meerut records –

“It appears from these minutes that comrade Muzaffar Ahmad was in the chair. It was in this meeting that Comrades Adhikari and Mirajkar were admitted as members and S.V. Ghate was elected the general Secretary. Also Hasrat Mohani expelled”.<sup>30</sup>

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27 . Meerut Record, D-374/13 Cf. G. Adhikari, ed. vol. II, pp. 668-69.

28 . G. Adhikari (ed.), vol. II, op.cit., p. 667.

29 . G. Adhikari(ed), vol. III B, op.cit., p. 211.

30 . G. Adhikari (ed.), vol. III C, op.cit., p. 454.

## 5.2 Response to Nehru Report

But the torch lit in the past decade was still burning bright. Despite the divisions and differences, there was unanimity on the basic issue India should attain full self-government, loosely called Dominion status and the leaders should put their heads together to solve the communal problem. The British had no misgiving about their own position and appointed in November 1927, a Statutory Commission known as the 'Simon Commission', to inquire into the working of the Government of India Act, 1919. The Commission was to consist of seven members including Sir John Simon as Chairman. There was no Indian member in it.<sup>31</sup>

The English still believed in the incapability of Indians in the art of administration. The 'Simon Commission' was to decide the Indian question without the Indians being members of it. Both the Congress and the League<sup>32</sup> boycotted it. This meant that those invited to give evidence would refuse to come before it. The members of the Legislative Council and Assemblies would abstain from voting on the select committee proposed to be set up to assist the Commission of India.<sup>33</sup>

In December 1927, the Congress met for its annual session at Madras under the Presidentship of Dr. M.A. Ansari.<sup>34</sup> A resolution was adopted,

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31 . Ram Gopal, *How India Struggled for Freedom*, Bombay, The Book Private Limited, 1967, p. 351.

32 . The Muslim League divided into two groups Shafi League and Jinnah League on the issue of Simon Commission Shafi group cooperated with the Commission and held its annual session at Lahore on December 31, 1927. Jinnah League opposed the Commission. Hasrat Mohani also with Shafi League and supported Simon Commission. See details, Shan Muhammad (ed.), *Indian Muslim : A Documentary Records (1900-1947)*, vol. VIII, Meerut, Meenakshi Prakash, 1985, pp. 260-271.

33 . Satyamurthy, S., 'Why We Boycott the Commission' in *The Indian Review*, December 1927, p. 802.

34 . Sitaramayya, Patabhi, B., *The History of the Congress* vol. I, (1885-1935), Allahabad, Congress Working Committee, 1935, pp. 537-38.

authorizing the Congress Executive to convene an All-India All-Parties conference to frame a constitution for India as a reply to the British challenge about the inability of the Indians to produce any alternative scheme to frame a constitution for India as a reply to the British challenge about the inability of the Indians to produce any alternative scheme of reform. In 10-22 February 1928 an All Parties Conference<sup>35</sup> met at Delhi with Dr. Ansari as its President. Later in May at its Bombay meet, a sub-committee was appointed to consider the constitutional problem. The committee consisted of Sir Ali Imam<sup>36</sup>, Shuaib Qureshi, Tej Bahadur Sapru, G.R. Pradhan, Mangal Singh, Subhash Chandra Bose, M.S. Aney with Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal as President and Secretary of the Committee.<sup>37</sup> This Committee drafted a constitution named after its

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35. In compliance with the direction in this resolution the Working Committee issued invitations to a large number of organizations like, National Muslim League, Central *Khilafat* Committee Central Sikh League, South India Liberal Federation, All India Trade Union congress, General Council of All Burmese Association, Home Rule League, Republican League, Independent Party in the Assembly, Nationalist Party in the Assembly, Indian States Subject Association, Indian States Subject Conference, Indian States People's Conference, Anglo-Indian Association, Indian Association of Calcutta, Parsi Central Association, Parsi Rajkiya Sabha, Zoroastrian Association, Parsi Panchayat, All India Conference of Indian Christians, Southern India Chamber of Commerce, Dravida Mahajan Sabha and the Landholder's Association of Awadh, Agra, Bihar, Bengal and Madras. Subsequently at Bombay invitations were also issued to the Bombay Non-Brahmin Party, the Communist Party of Bombay and the Bombay Workers and Peasants party. Many of these organizations sent representatives to the conference which held its first meeting on 12 February 1928 at Delhi. The Conference continued its meeting from day to day till 22 February 1928. See for its details, Shan Muhammad (ed.), *The Indian Muslims: A documentary Records (1900-1947)*, vol. IX, Meerut, Meenakshi Prakashan, 1988, pp. 27-90, Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims: A Political History (1858-1947)*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1959, Rajendra Prasad, *India Divided* (Reprint), New Delhi, Anmol Publications, 1986.

36. Ali Imam (1869-1932), He was born in Neora district Patna. A Shia Muslim by faith, he belonged to a distinguished, educated and middle class family. He Bar-at-Law from London in 1890, he returned home the same year and started practice in Patna. Ali Imam was appointed Standing Council to the Government of India in the Calcutta High Court in 1910, and by the year's end he was appointed Law Member of the Executive Council of the Governor General, of which he was also the Vice President. The Political activities of Ali Imam Commenced around 1908, when he presided over the first session of the Bihar Provincial Conference. He also preside over the annual session of the All India Muslim league at Amritsar 1908. In his Presidential Address at the Nationalist Muslims' Conference at Lucknow in 1931, he observed that the muslim's share in the 'Concession Loot' could not be 'fixed by statute'. In this connection see details Datta, K.K., *History of Freedom Movement in Bihar I & II*, Patna, Government of Bihar 1957. *The Search Light*, daily newspaper, Patna, 1 December 1918, 10 April 1931.

37. Shan Muhammad (ed.), *Indian Muslims : A Documentary Record (1900-1947)*, vol. IX, Meerut, Meenakshi Prakashan, 1988, p. 90.

President as the 'Nehru Report'. The crucial issue in Indian politics had been the representation of different communities. The Nehru Committee's recommendations were –

- (i) There shall be joint electorates throughout India.
- (ii) There shall be no reservation of seats for the House of Representatives except for the Muslims in provinces where they were in a minority, and non-Muslims in the North-West Frontier Provinces. Such reservation will be in strict proportion to the Muslim population in every province where they are in a minority and in proportion to the non-Muslim population in North-West Frontier Province. The Muslims or non-Muslims, where reservation is allowed to them, shall have the right to contest additional seats.
- (iii) In the Provinces –
  - (a) There shall be no reservation of seats for any community in the Punjab and Bengal.
  - (b) In Provinces other than the Punjab and Bengal there will be reservation of seats for Muslim minorities on population basis with the right to contest additional seats.
  - (c) In the North-West Frontier Province there shall be similar reservation for non-Muslims with the right to contest other seats.
- (iv) Reservation of seats shall be for a fixed period of ten years.
- (v) Sindh should be separated from Bombay and constituted into a separate province after such inquiry about the financial position as may be considered necessary.



- (vi) The North-West Frontier Provinces (NWFP) and other newly formed provinces shall have the same type of Government as in other provinces in India<sup>38</sup>.

The All Parties Convention was held on December 22, 1928 at Calcutta and continued its sitting till January 1, 1929. The convention represented political India in miniature. There were gathered together the most prominent leaders of the parties, most distinguished public men of India. Dr. M.A. Ansari presided. Motilal Nehru presented the Report of the committee which had been appointed by the All Parties Conference at Bombay. The Principal recommendations of the report –

“i. The political status of India shall be the same as that of the British Dominion like Canada, South Africa, Australia and the Irish Free State.

“ii. The fundamental rights shall be provided in the constitution, among them shall be the freedom of conscience of profession and practice of religion.

“iii. The Lower House in the Central Legislature and the Provincial Legislature shall consist of members elected by joint and mixed electorates, but there shall be reservation of seats for the Muslims in the Central Legislature and the Provincial Legislature where they are in a minority and similarly reservation for Hindus in the North-West Frontier Province.

“iv. There will be no reservation for the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal.

“v. Reservation of seats shall be on the basis of population and for a fixed period. Communities whose seats are reserved shall have the right to contest for additional seats.

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38 . *Bombay Chronicle*, Bombay, 24 December 1928.

“vi. Every person of either sex who has attained the age of 21 and is not disqualified by law shall be entitled to vote, both for the central and Provincial Legislatures

“vii. The provinces of Sindh and Karnataka shall be separate. Any further reorganization of provinces shall be non-linguistic basis.

“viii. The list of subjects on which the Central and Provincial in Schedules”.<sup>39</sup>

In Calcutta 25<sup>th</sup> December 1928, All-India *Khilafat* Conference was held. Hasrat Mohani also attended it. In that session long debate took place on ‘Nehru Report’. Hasrat Mohani was against it and moved a resolution –

“In the opinion of this Conference the future Constitution of India should be so framed as to provide for a Federation of the Free and United States of India. This constitution of (a) fully autonomous provinces in India, (b) large Indian states and groups of smaller Indian states when join the Federation.

“Every Constituent member of the Federation should possess plenary power within its jurisdiction and should have its Legislature and Governor elected by the people of every constituent member of the Federation.

“The Central Federal Parliament should consist of representatives elected by the Constituent members of the Federation and should have jurisdiction only over such subjects as concern the whole of India and are entrusted to it by the Constituent members of the Federation which alone should be vested with residuary power

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39 . *Nehru Committee Report*, pp. 122-24.

“Musalmans of India will not accept any constitution which would not be framed on the principles stated above”.<sup>40</sup>

In moving the resolution Maulana Hasrat Mohani said that it was time for the Musalmans to produce new constitution for India. He was the first man to raise his voice against the Nehru Report and was glad to find that gradually, he had been gaining more adherents to it. He thought the Nehru Report wrong from start to finish. The days of dynastic or constitutional monarchy had gone and the Republican Government had been liked by all. The Constitutional Government as embodied in the Nehru Report was very injurious to the Musalmans. Moreover the report as it was, could not be accepted by the Native States of India as the Central Government to be established by the constitution of the Report would have the same power over the Indian states as the present Government of India.<sup>41</sup>

Jinnah addressed the convention at length giving the reasons in support of the Muslim claim. He remarked that there was no denying the fact that communalism existed in India, no matter who was to be blamed for it, and if the Muslim claim could not get due consideration, it would raise controversy and lead to bad blood. Nation struggling for freedom from foreign domination would get their support unless they could feel that they were secure. In his vigorous speech he said –

“We are engaged today in a very serious and solemn transaction. It is not merely for any organization to come and say ‘yes, we agree to it’. We are here for the purpose of entering into a solemn contract and all parties, who

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40 . Shan Muhammad, op.cit., Vol. IX, p. 108.

41 . Ibid., p. 108.

enter it, will have to work for it and fight for it. Therefore it is essential that you must get not only the Muslim League but the Muslims of India and there I am not speaking on the question as a Musalman but as an Indian and it is my desire to see that I get seven crore of Musalmans to march along with me in this struggle. Hindu and Muslims, two communities have got to be reconciled, united and made to feel that their interests are common and they are marching along together.

“I do ask you once more to consider this question of the security of the minority before you can expect to carry in with you. Please don’t think that I am threatening you because I am liable to be misunderstood. If we don’t settle this question today, we will settle it tomorrow. We are the son of this land. We have to live together. We have work together and whatever our differences may be, let us not arouse bad blood. If we cannot agree let us agree to differ. But let us part as friends. Nothing will make me more happy than to see Hindus and Muslims united. I believe there is no progress for India, until Muslims and Hindus are united and for that purpose let no logic, philosophy and squabbles stand in the way of your bringing that about”.<sup>42</sup>

The Muslim League withdrew its support from the National Convention. This was followed by a declaration by Jinnah of his fourteen points which marked the beginning of a new era in Indian politics.

An attempt was made by M.A. Jinnah to bring about a reconciliation between the two groups in the Muslim League and the Muslim All Parties Conference. Jinnah, after consulting leading men, prepared a draft resolution

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42 . *The Times of India*, Bombay December 29, 1928.

on the basis of which a settlement could be made. It was in this draft resolution that he formulated his fourteen points as necessary for safeguarding the rights and interest of Musalmans. These fourteen points may be summarized as follows:

1. The form of the future constitution should be federal, with the residuary powers vested in Provinces.
2. A uniform measure of autonomy for provinces.
3. All Legislatures and other bodies should be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province to a minority or even equality.
4. In the Central Legislature Muslim representation shall not be less than one third.
5. Representation of communal groups to be by separate electorates provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.
6. Any territorial redistribution not in any way to effect North Western Frontier Province.
7. Full liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education shall be guaranteed to all communities.
8. No bill or Resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any Legislature or any other elected body if three fourth of the members of any community in that body opposed it as being injurious to the interests of that community.

9. Sindh to be separated from the Bombay presidency.
10. Reforms to be introduced in the Frontier Province and Baluchistan as in other Provinces.
11. Adequate share of Musalmans to be provided in the constitution in all services, subject to requirements of efficiency.
12. Adequate safeguards for the protection and promotion of Muslim culture, education, language religion, personal laws, and charitable institutions and for their due share in the grants-in-aid.
13. No Cabinet either Central or Provincial to be formed without at least one-third of the minister being Muslims.
14. No change in the Constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the states constituting the Indian Federation.<sup>43</sup>

After the Nehru Report had been consigned to the waters of the Ravi because session of the Congress was held on the bank at Ravi in Lahore in December 1929. In 31 October, 1929, the Viceroy had issued a statement promising Dominion Status for India without fixing a deadline but indicating that a round table conference would be organized to work out the future constitution for India. The statement, since it did not fix a date by which the promise would be implemented, was considered as vague by Congress leaders.

The Congress was again completely under the influence of Gandhiji, and the leading Swarajists including Motilal Nehru, admitted the fulfilling of the council entry programme. One resolution from another, adopted by the

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43 . Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims : A Political History (1828-1947)*, Bombay, Asia Publication House, 1959, p. 222.

Congress, vindicated and affirmed the stand that Gandhi had taken, since he became leader of the freedom movement. In this session complete independence was demanded by the Congress.<sup>44</sup> It sent round circular letters to provincial Congress Committees asking them to organize Independence Day meeting on January 26, 1930. The Working Committee's resolution, in the form of a pledge, was asked to be repeated by the audience. It said –

“We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom, but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and also ruined, India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe further that India must sever the British connection and attain ‘*Purna Swaraj*’ or complete independence”.<sup>45</sup> Hasrat published articles in this connection in his newspaper *Mustaqil* under the title, Nehru Report for *Fatiha parahney kay Bad* (After reciting Fatiha for the Nehru Report).<sup>46</sup>

### 5.3 Attitude towards Civil Disobedience Movement

When in 1930, Congress started the Civil Disobedience Movement in the country, Maulana Hasrat Mohani also participated in it. Famous Urdu writer and journalist Furqat Kakorwi was a contemporary of Hasrat Mohani. He has

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44 . Ibid., p.222.

45 . Ram Gopal, *How India Struggled For Freedom*, Bombay, The Book Centre Private Limited, 1967, p. 360.

46 . For details, see, *Mustaqil*, Kanpur, 9, 11 & 13 January, 1930.

written an eye-witnessed event of Hasrat's participation in this movement. Furqat says : "When the Congress started in 1930 of individual satyagrah and the Government began to arrest people, it was impossible for Maulana Hasrat not to go to jail. A public meeting took place in the Aminabad Park in the evening. When Maulana was arrested, I (the writer of these lines) was present there. As soon as he finished his speech and came down the stage, he was arrested".<sup>47</sup>

#### **5.4 Formation of Azad Party**

Maulana Hasrat Mohani announced the formation of an Independent Muslim Party known as the 'Azad Party' on October, 1931 in collaboration with Maulana Azad Subhani at a public meeting at Albert Hall, Calcutta. It was decided that the party would work for a federal, as against a unitary system of Government and for adult franchise. The aims and objects of the 'Azad Party' were as follows :

1. The Constitution of the government should be systematic, democratic and decentralized;
2. There should be two types of power – federal and provincial;
3. Every adult would have the right to franchise, etc.<sup>48</sup>

#### **5.5 Publication of the *Mustaqil***

It was in 1928 that Hasrat started to publish a new paper entitled *Mustaqil* which was continued by 1929 as a daily and in 1930, 1931, 1932 as two-days',

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47. For detail, see, Nafees Ahmad Siddiqi, op.cit., p. 415.

48. See, *Mustaqil*, August-September & December, 1932. Also see, Mohammad Tayyab (ed.), *Maulana Hasrat Mohani Aur Tahreek-i Azadi*, Aligarh, Educational Book House, 1996, pp. 270-71.



three-days' and weekly. From 1933 it became a monthly paper and after 1936 it was published as an appendix (*zamimah*) of the *Urdu-i Mualla*. Syed Hamid Ali, an intellectual and Urdu writer from Gorakhpur city of the eastern Uttar Pradesh has published the content of the two issues of this newspaper (*Mustaqil*) of 23<sup>rd</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> December 1929. Hamid Ali is of the view: "Though the *Mustaqil* as a newspaper has not much significance yet its different issues surely help us to some extent in understanding Hasrat's political thought and principles".<sup>49</sup>

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49 . See Hamid Ali, *Intikhab-i Mustaqil*, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh Urdu Academy; 1983; Ahmar Lari, op.cit., pp. 271-274.

## **Chapter – VI**

### ***Association with Muslim League and Pakistan Movements***

## CHAPTER – VI

### ASSOCIATION WITH MUSLIM LEAGUE AND PAKISTAN MOVEMENTS

As has been discussed in preceding chapters, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, alongwith his deep involvement in the national political developments, also always took profound interest in contemporary Muslim social life and politics of the country. We find him actively participating in almost all significant events of our freedom movement whether of national nature or concerned with the Muslim community. It was because of his deep Indo-Muslim political spirit that he always remained somehow associated with the Muslim League since its very inception. Though in late twenties and early thirties (of the twentieth century) he is seen involved and spending more and more time in secular politics and movements like Communist Movement, yet he could not give up his attachment with the Muslim League. It was during the mid-thirties, 1936, that he became the active member of this Muslim Organization which was becoming popular in general Muslim masses.<sup>1</sup> According to Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, 'We had also to send speakers to all other provinces and our Muslim League Ulama, Maulana Jamal Mian, Maulana Hamid Badauni, Maulana Karam Ali, Maulana Sadiq Hasan and Maulana Sibghatullah, were constantly on tour. Professor Inayatullah from Punjab was surely a very effective and forceful speaker who generally went to meetings accompanied by Aminuddin Sahri. But above all these Maulana Shuakat Ali so long as he lived

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1 . Hasrat Mohani, *Kulliyat-i Hasrat Mohani*, (Reprint), Delhi, Nomani Publishing House, 1977, p. 34.

and Maulana Hasrat Mohani contributed with all their might and with many sacrifices to their credit to keep the League flag high and moving ahead”.<sup>2</sup>

When twenty fifth session of the League was held in Lucknow under the Presidentship of M.A. Jinnah, several resolutions were passed. One of them (Resolution II) was : “The object of the All India Muslim League shall be the establishment in India of full independence in the form of federation of free democratic states in which the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the Constitution”.<sup>3</sup>

The change of the League creed to ‘full independence’ was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, explaining the resolution, said the word ‘complete’ had been intentionally kept out as its interpretation by Congress had made it meaningless. Some meant by complete independent Dominion Status. Others *Purna Swaraj* etc. further, the Congress creed did not define the form of independent India. The speaker said that the Congress wanted a unitary form of Government, while the Muslims were totally opposed to such a form. The League wanted a federation of free States in India. Proceeding, the speaker said that nationalism was opposed to socialism, and as such a Congress socialist could not think of nationalism in the right sense.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani further explained that personally he was opposed to the safeguard clause in the resolution. He did not want any safeguard, but to satisfy the moderates the clause had been incorporated. Another concession to the moderates was that there was no mention of

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2. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, (Reprint), Lahore, Brothers Publishers, 1993, p. 190.

3. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada (ed.), *Foundation of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League Documents :1906-1947*, vol. II, New Delhi, Metropolitan Book Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1982, p. 274.

severance of the British connection. It was possible within the terms of the resolution to remain within the British fold, if necessary.<sup>4</sup>

Maulana Hasrat Mohani, supportingly said that Federation was composed of Government, Congress, Muslims and States. The Government would willy-nilly like to introduce the Federal scheme. Their plan apparently was to persuade Congress to join by influencing Gandhi. The Government, he added, were at present very kind to Congress and the Hindus. As for the States, they would be forced into it and, thus, the Muslims would be isolated and compelled to join. On the other hand, advised the Maulana, the League should take steps to isolate the Government by winning over the other two parties. He explained that at present Congress and the Muslim had a mutual suspicion, each thinking that the other might join, leaving it isolated. He believed that they could join hand and approach the Nizam and other State since a number of States were already shaky on the subject. He said that some members of the Subject Committee had suggested an alternative scheme, which was opposed and deleted. He concluded that if under pressure, the Muslims accepted Federation, they would not be able to give affect to the resolution passed in session.<sup>5</sup>

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan seconded the resolution. He said that Muslims always thought in terms of independence. The resolution was passed unanimously by all standing amidst shouts.<sup>6</sup>

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4 . Ibid., p. 274.

5 . Shan Muhammad (ed.), *Indian Muslims: A Documentary Record (1900-1947)*, vol. X, Meerut Meenakshi Prakashan, 1990, p. 198.

6 . Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *op.cit.*, pp. 274-77.

Hasrat was also associated with Palestine Conference which was being held there in 17 October 1938. The Muslim League and the Khilafat Committee decided to send a deputation<sup>7</sup>, consisting of Abdur Rahman Siddiqui as President, Hasrat Mohani, Choudhry, Khaliquzzaman and Raja Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, when Maulana applied for the passport, the Intelligence Bureau (Home Department, Government of India Dy No. 10, 392, 1 October 1938), said in its confidential report : “My personal opinion is that to require passport facilities in the present circumstances, even to an agitator with a bad record as Hasrat Mohani, would be likely to prove more dangerous in the long run than to let him go. His going is unlikely to influence the conference’s decision to any appreciable extent, and agitation in India is likely to be continued on the lines of that decision whether he goes or not. The possible risk of his contacting revolutionary contacts is obvious, but I doubt whether there is any need to attach much importance to it. On the other hand, should the passport be released, the report will be seized upon and exploited to the utmost as deliberate interference in a matter, concerning the safety of Islam. I have recorded the above as my personal opinion since the answer to be U.P. Govt’s reference would seem to depend largely on policy”.<sup>9</sup>

At last Director Intelligence Bureau, Reference No. 50/PF/32 dated 1.10.38, issued, “No objection to grant passport for Egypt to Maulana Hasrat Mohani”.<sup>10</sup>

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7 . Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, op.cit., p. 198,.

8 . Home Political, F.No. 28/72/37, p. 1.

9 . Home Political 28/11/1938, pp. 1-2.

10 . Ibid., p. 2.

He attended the Palestine Conference at Cairo. The main question before the Arab world at the time was to save Palestine from partition<sup>11</sup>. On his return from the Conference, Hasrat gave the following statement: "In which circumstances, this Conference was organised, I thought when the organizer of the Conference Mahmūd Pasha was the friend of the Government's members of the conference so he was a friend of Government of Britain, and above all, the Press release of the Iraqi minister which he delivered after his return from the Conference where he went to offer his exceeding about the conflict between Jews and Muslims. Because of all these things, I am right to think that Cairo Islamic Conference gave same principles on which the problem of Palestine will be solved sooner. This conference proved vital for the Muslims of the world who not only unitedly support the cause of Palestine Muslims, it will help to improve the relation among the Muslims all over the world".<sup>12</sup>

The first election under: the 1935 Act<sup>13</sup> Constitution were held in early 1937. This Congress won the majorities in eight provinces, but refused to form ministries unless the safeguard clauses in the Act were suspended and the Governors undertook not to interfere with the provincial administrations. This the Government refused to concede, for it would require an amendment of the Constitution by Parliament. The Muslim and other minorities would never have accepted this change. A deadlock ensued, which was broken only in June by a

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11 . Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, op.cit., p. 198.

12 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Kanpur, Daftar Urdu-i Mualla, October to December 1938, pp. 1-4.

13 . The main features of the government system prescribed by the Act of 1935 as follows: Federal and Provincial Autonomy while under all the previous Government of India Act, the Government of India was unitary, the Act of 1935 prescribed a federation, taking the Provinces and the Indian states as unit. But it was optional for the Indian States to join the Federation and since the Rulers of the Indian States never gave their consent, the Federation envisaged by the Act of 1935, never come into being. The Provincial Autonomy was given effect to since April 1937. See for details, Durga Das Basu, *Introduction to the Constitution of India*, 18<sup>th</sup> Edition, New Delhi, Prince Hall of India Private Limited, 1998, pp. 9-11.

conciliatory statement of the Viceroy, assuring the Congress that the Governor's would not use their special powers office in eight out of eleven provinces in July 1937.<sup>14</sup>

Muslim League and Congress dispute was major issue in the formation of the Government. Maulana Azad and Govind Ballabh Pant had gone to Choudhry Khaliquzzaman on the question of formation of the Congress ministry. Khaliquzzaman wanted two Muslim League members in the ministry while Congress was willing to give only one seat to the League. Ultimately the Congress decided to give two seats to Muslims with the insistence that one Muslim should be from the Congress. But the League refused to accepted it as it wanted both the members from itself. The Congress also presented a letter to Khaliquzzaman giving some conditions to accept which the League had refused.<sup>15</sup>

There were other things. Proceedings in the assemblies were opened with the singing of *Bande Mataram*. The song occurs in the renowned Bengali novelist, Bankim Chandra Chatterji's *Anand Math*, a most widely read novel for many decades. It was translated into several Indian languages. *Anand Math's* theme is a *Sanyasi* rebellion ascetics, apparently all Hindus, raise the standard of revolt against Muslim conquerors. During the freedom movement, those who suggested that this song should become the national anthem, that the League steered clear of this history, and expressed its resentments against public singing of *Bande Matram*.<sup>16</sup> Lucknow Session of Muslim League 15-18 October, 1937 as President Mr. M.A. Jinnah said that

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14 . K.K. Aziz, *Britain and Muslim India*, London, Heinemann, 1963, p. 137.

15 . See for details, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, op.cit., pp. 169-188.

16 . Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims: A Political History (1858-1947)*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1959, p. 256.



“Hindi is to be the national language of all India and the *Bande Matram* is to be obeyed and revered by all and sundry. On the very threshold of what little power and responsibility is given, the majority community have clearly shown their hand: that Hindustan is for Hindus. Only the Congress masquerades under the name of nationalism, whereas the Hindu Mahasabha does not mine words”.<sup>17</sup>

This was one side of the picture. The other was the one presented by the Hindu Mahasabha, which at its meetings accused the Congress Governments of pursuing a policy of appeasement towards the Muslims, and exhorted Hindus to disown the Congress. Communal riots, the League’s unending charges against Congress Governments, and the denials issued by the Governments after official inquiries, had made fair-minded people feel as if they were in a fog. It was difficult to say who was really to be blame for initiating riots. It seems it will remain an unsolved mystry.<sup>18</sup>

The League appointed committees under the presidentship of Raja Mohammad Mehdi of Pirpur and S.M. Sharif to investigate the Muslim complaints against the Congress Raj. The Pirpur Report unanimously declared that the Muslims were the worst sufferers and Congress ministers purely resembled the Hindu Raj. A.K. Fazlul Haq, premier of Bengal, in a pamphlet entitled *Muslim Suffering under Congress Rule* charged the Congress ministries with partial and unjust treatment of the Musalmans under their rule.<sup>19</sup>

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17. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, op.cit., p. 268.

18. R. Gopal, op.cit., p. 258.

19. Shan Muhammad, *Khaksar Movement in India*, Meerut, Meenakshi Prakashan, 1973, pp. 115-16.

In September 1939, on the outbreak of the Second World War in Europe, the complexion of politics in India underwent some change. Within a few hours of the declaration of war on September 3, the Viceroy of India, without any consultation with the Provincial Ministers, proclaimed India a belligerent. An amendment of the Government of India Act was rushed through Parliament in eleven minutes, empowering the Viceroy to over ride the provision of the Constitution even in respect of provincial autonomy. The same day, the Defence of India Ordinance was promulgated by the Viceroy considerably curtailing the civil liberties of the people. The Congress Working Committee met to consider the new situation and said – “If the war is to defend the status quo imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privileges then Indians can have nothing to do with it. If, however, the issue is democracy and a world order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it”.<sup>20</sup>

The Committee invited the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what were their war aims? and how these aims were to be given effect to in India and to be given effect to in the present. The British Government did not yield to the Congress demand for immediate establishment of responsible Self-Government, and the Working Committee asked the Congress Ministers to relinquish office, which they did by December 1939. Jinnah welcomed the resignations, and declared that the Congress Ministries must never come back. He fixed 22 December, for celebration as a ‘Day of Deliverance and Thanksgiving’. It was celebrated by League organizations throughout the country, with more enthusiasm in the Congress Provinces than

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20 . Ram Gopal, op.cit., p. 266.

elsewhere, as a mark of relief that the Congress Governments have at least ceased to function. The Congress and the League entered the decisive phases of their careers, the one for freedom and the other for Pakistan.<sup>21</sup>

The All India Muslim League's twenty seventh session held at Lahore on March 22-24, 1940, in which it put its official stamp on Jinnah's analysis by a resolution, commonly known as the '*Pakistan Resolution*' in which it was said : "Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz. that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute Independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign".<sup>22</sup>

The idea which M.A. Jinnah and his resolution put forward was not new. It has first been mooted by Sir Mohammad Iqbal at the annual session of the League at Allahabad in 29-30 December 1930. He said,

"Communalism, in its higher aspect, then, is indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India. The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages, and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a

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21 . Ibid., p. 267.

22 . Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, p. 341.

common race-consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogeneous group. The principle of European Democracy cannot be applied to India without recognizing the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India is, therefore, perfectly justified.

“I would like to see the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single States. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-west India.

“I therefore demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam. For India, it means security and peaceful resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam, an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its laws, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times”.<sup>23</sup>

In 1933 the Pakistan idea was being elaborated by a set of Indian students in Cambridge, led by Chaudhry Rahmat Ali.<sup>24</sup>

It should be stressed that even after passing the ‘Pakistan Resolution’, the Muslims were not yet thinking in terms of partitioning the country. They still hoped for a loosely confederated constitution, with a very weak centre and full sovereign, autonomous provinces. This was the situation when in March 1942, to quote Ram Gopal’s words, “Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the

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23 . Ibid., pp. 158-160.

24 . K.K. Aziz, op.cit., pp. 143-44.

British War Cabinet was sent on a mission to India to attempt to find a solution to the Indian deadlock. His scheme was rejected by the Congress because it did not concede the demand for responsible government. It conceded the substance of the League demand, but League also rejected it because it did not announce unequivocal acceptance of Pakistan”.<sup>25</sup>

It was clearly in response to this move of the British Government that Hasrat now produced a combined January-February-March 1942, issue of *Urdu-i Mualla* in which he set out his views of the lines upon which an independent India should be constituted. We have seen that Hasrat had always favoured a loose federal structure with the main powers vested not in the centre but in autonomous provinces. He now stated his opinion that India should be composed of a number of republics grouped in five federations which, along with one princely state Hyderabad should form an Indian confederation. He outlines the details as follows :

- a) Federation of Eastern India : (i) Republic of Assam, (ii) Republic of Bengal
- b) Federation of South Eastern India : (i) Republic of Orissa, (ii) Republic of Andhra, (iii) Republic of Madras, (iv) Republic of Maharashtra
- c) Federation of Central India : (i) Republic of Bihar, (ii) Republic of Upper Provinces, (iii) Republic of Maharashtra
- d) Federation of south Western India : (i) Republic of Gujarat, (ii) Republic of Bombay, (iii) Republic of Baluchistan, (iv) Republic of North-Western Frontier Provinces (N.W.F.P.)

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25 . R. Gopal, op.cit., p. 298.

e) Federation of Western India : (i) Republic of Sind, (ii) Republic of Punjab

The Union of these Federated Republics, in Hasrat's scheme, would be called the Confederation of India. He further laid down a general outline of the constitution of the Confederation:

- “1. It will be the right of the Confederation to enter into pacts of friendship or neutrality with Governments or Republics like Britain, Russia or China, and also to declare war or conclude peace.
2. To participate in the Confederation, each Federation shall send its representatives in equal number, by election.
3. Each Republic and Federation shall have the right to elect its own Governor or Governor General and also to elect its own legislatures.
4. In each Republic and Federation voting shall be on the basis of universal adult franchise. And parties may be formed only on a political basis, and this condition must be written into the constitution that even if one single vote be acquired on the basis of religion or community, then if this be proved, the election must be held null and void.
5. For the proper growth of political parties, such as capitalist and nationalist parties, a socialist party shall also be allowed and may not be declared illegal.
6. The President of the Confederation shall be elected by all the inhabitants of the Confederation, by direct voting and his powers shall be restricted to authorized subjects only. The Federations of Republics shall be sovereign and shall not come under the Confederation in regard to any matters other than those authorized.

7. In the same way the Presidents of the Federations shall be elected by the direct voting of all the adults residing in the Federation. His powers shall be restricted to authorized subjects only and Republics shall be sovereign in regard to other matters.
8. If the British Government accepts this proposed scheme and enforces it immediately then, the European Governors of the existing provinces of India shall become Governors of the proposed Republics and the present Governor-General of India shall become officiating President of the Cabinet of the proposed Confederation of India; and for the duration of the War, all the Indian Armed forces and resources may be employed, under his direction or under that of the present Commander-in-Chief. After the War the Indians shall elect their own Governors and a President for India, according to the constitution.
9. Of the Indian States, any which has attained a Federal status (i.e. which meets the conditions necessary to become a member of the Federation), for instance, the state of Hyderabad and Berar, should also become a member of this Confederation.
10. All other States, after attaining freedom and democracy in their own region, according to their status and position, can become members of the Federation, or Republics, as the case may be".<sup>26</sup>

The scheme shows every sign of having been written rather hastily, perhaps in order to make it available for public discussion as soon as possible in view of the Cripp's Mission. We can therefore only speculate about some of

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26 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Kanpur, Daftar Urdu-i Mualla, January-February & March 1942, pp. 1-3.

the implications of its various aspects. But some of these certainly call for comment. Thus the scheme clearly implies the redrawing of certain provincial boundaries. He wanted to create a number of new states – Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujrat. The recent fierce riots in Bombay over the language issue have, to some extent, justified Hasrat's vision of a separate small state of Bombay.

If we disregard the eccentricities reflected in some of the proposed implementations of the general principles laid down, it is clear that Hasrat's scheme deserved more than the scant attention given by Congress and Muslim League leaders. Hasrat, undaunted as ever by disagreement, exerted himself to win support for his point of view. Thus in March, 1942 he travelled to meet a number of League and Congress leaders in an effort to convert them to his scheme. Entries in his personal diaries relating to these efforts are quoted by Maulana Jamal Mian Firangi Mahal. "26<sup>th</sup> March 1942; I decided today, all of a sudden, that I would go to Delhi, and compel Mr. Jinnah to abandon the policy of 'Pakistan within the British empire'; and if possible, I will go to the Congress Working Committee and insist on their adopting the scheme of the Confederation of the allied Federation".<sup>27</sup>

A month later he travelled to Wardha, the headquarters of Gandhi, for the same purpose, and met Gandhi, Rajagopalachariya and Vallabhbhai Patel. Another entry in his diary reads: "28<sup>th</sup> April 1942, Rajaji is quite intelligent. He at once grasped my scheme and showed his agreement. The same thing happened with Gandhiji, at night. Glory to God! The man who was dedicated

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27 . Hasrat Mohani, *op.cit.*, p. 36.



to Dominion Status and an enemy of complete independence is now in complete harmony with me. Thanks to God!”.<sup>28</sup>

Whether Rajagopalachari and Gandhi were indeed as fully convinced as Hasrat thought, is perhaps doubtful. But it is a matter of history that first Rajaji and later Gandhi felt sufficiently at odds with the dominant Congress thinking at the time and took a different stand. In Ram Gopal’s words “In this atmosphere of antagonism, a lonely favourable voice was raised from Madras, shocking Congressmen and surprising Jinnah. The voice was of C. Rajagopalachariya, a top Congress leader. He said that Hindu-Muslim differences should be settled on the basis of Pakistan”.<sup>29</sup>

It seems fair to say that this stand of Rajagopalachari and Gandhi may well have owed something to Hasrat’s discussion with them. With the Muslim League he scored no such success. In 3-6 April 1942, he attended the League’s twenty-ninth annual session held at Allahabad. Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf Chairman of Reception Committee and M.A. Jinnah was the President. Hasrat was afraid that Jinnah, now the League’s undisputed leader, might accept Dominion Status, so he tabled a resolution regarding the Cripp’s Proposals in the League’s Subjects Committee. Jinnah refused to allow his resolution to be put. Thereupon in the open session, he moved an amendment to a resolution which proposed to give complete authority to Jinnah. Hasrat was against giving complete authority to any one person. When the original resolution proposing the giving of full power was moved in the open session, there were fifty thousand people present. Hasrat undauntedly rose to oppose it. His voice was

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28 . Ibid., p. 38.

29 . Ram Gopal, op.cit., p. 300.

the one dissenting voice. The entire gathering with one accord started shouting, 'Sir down! We don't want to listen to you, Sir down!'. But Hasrat remained standing, insisting on his right to be heard. The noise went on unabated for some time; then Jinnah himself rose to his feet and commanded the audience to listen to whatever the Maulana had to say. Then the Maulana, in the strongest words, opposed the resolution, which, however, was carried with only his vote against.<sup>30</sup>

The event of the succeeding months and years are well known. Both Congress and the League rejected the Cripp's proposals. Congress launched its 'Quit India' campaign in August, 1942. Gandhi and the whole Congress leadership was arrested, and mass resistance, involving often violent clashes with the police and army, followed. The League held aloof, regarding the movement (in the words of its Working committee) as directed not only to coerce the British Government into handing over power to a Hindu oligarchy but also to force the Musalmans to submit and surrender to Congress terms and dictation.<sup>31</sup>

The Second World War ended with the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima (6 August 1945) and Nagasaki (9 August 1945). Peace-loving people all over the world were glad that the war had ended, but appalled by the horror of the atom bomb. Hasrat composed a satirical quatrain (*rubai'i*) on this occasion:

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30 . See for details, Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, op.cit., pp. 390-91.

31 . Ram Gopal, op.cit., p. 298.

بلبل بیکس سے کیا پوچھیں نشین تھا کہاں  
 باغباں بھی جب یہ کہتا ہو کہ گلشن تھا کہاں  
 جوہری بم کی یہی گر کار فرمائی رہی  
 حسرت اک دن خلق پوچھے گی کہ لندن تھا کہاں

How one can ask the helpless nightingale where was its nest was;  
 When even the gardener is asking 'Where was the garden?.'

If the achievements of the atom bomb go on at this rate, then,  
 Hasrat, one day people will ask "Where was London?"<sup>32</sup>

We need only outline the events of the next two years, leading to independence, the elections of 1946, in which the Muslim League won 75 per cent of the total Muslim votes polled in the country<sup>33</sup>, the arrival of the Cabinet Mission (19 February, 1946), the Cabinet Mission's plan (remarkably similar in some of its general features to Hasrat's especially in the limited power proposed for the centre, and in the suggestion for grouping of provinces) produced in May 1946, its initial acceptance both by the League (in June), and by the Congress (in July), the bomb shell of Nehru's extraordinary statements at the press conference on 10<sup>th</sup> July claiming that Congress was free to modify the Cabinet Mission plan as it thought best, the sharp League reaction, withdrawing acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan (27<sup>th</sup> July), the large-scale riots in August following the League's observance of 16 August as Direct Action Day, the formation of an Interim Government, the crisis caused by Congress demand (13<sup>th</sup> February 1947) for the dismissal of League ministers, the arrival of Mountbatten as successor to Wavell as Viceroy, and finally the acceptance of partition and the establishment of the independent Dominions of India and Pakistan in August 1947.

32 . Ibid., p. 460.

33 . Ram Gopal, op.cit., p. 304.

## **Chapter – VII**

### ***Hasrat After Independence***

## CHAPTER – VII

### HASRAT AFTER INDEPENDENCE

Most of the League leaders made their way to the newly achieved Pakistan, Hasrat remained in India. Extracts from his personal diary illustrate his stand. Only a month after independence he writes “16 September 1947, today Ahmad Nabi Khan invited me to Bans Mandi in the evening for an exchange of views. I discussed at length the future prospects for the Muslims and made my point of view clear to most of the residents of Bans Mandi that the Muslims need not to show any sign of despair. If needed they should adopt guerrilla warfare against the present government”.<sup>1</sup>

During this period at the instance of the Central Congress Government and Azad Muslim Conference was convened in Lucknow. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad took a leading part in it. It was his wish that Muslim League leaders should also participate in the deliberations, try to change their old mentality, and advise Muslims to adopt themselves to the changed circumstances. The U.P. Muslim League formed a delegation consisting of five persons, of whom Hasrat was one, to discuss this with Maulana Azad. Hasrat Mohani writes in his diary in the description of 27<sup>th</sup> December, 1947: “By 10.15 A.M. this morning I had finished my breakfast and had read newspapers, and in accordance with yesterday’s decision we five representative Rizwanullah, Hasrat Mohani, Zakir Ali, Farooqui, Nafisul Hasan at about 11’O clock arrived at the Carlton Hotel to talk with Abul Kalam Azad Sahib. We had not been conversing for long before it became clear that the suspicions that I

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1 . Hasrat Mohani, *Kulliya-i Hasrat Mohani*, (Reprint), Delhi, Nomani Publishing House, 1977, p. 41.

had expressed in our consultations before hand about Maulana Abul Kalam's intention were now confirmed by his own words. He freely confessed that today's Conference had only one aim, namely that all Muslim organizations should terminate every political aspect of their activity and all communal organizations should merge in the Congress. Our rejoinder as we left was that our participation would be completely pointless. During the course of conversation, as we were on the point of leaving I took a dig at Abul Kalam which was like a cold douche to all his schemings and which made him extremely annoyed. I said 'you are doing exactly what Sir Syed did in 1857. In order to ally the suspicions of the British Government, he urged the Muslims to concentrate purely on educational and social matters and to pledge political loyalty to Britain. Exactly in the same way you in 1947, are preaching to Muslims unconditional loyalty to the Congress and are determined that the Islamic organization shall confine themselves to social matter'.<sup>2</sup>

### **7.1 Hasrat in Constituent Assembly**

In 1946 Hasrat was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly of United Province on the ticket of the Muslim League. He also became the member of the Constituent Assembly. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman says –

“In the Indian Constituent Assembly there were eight seats for the U.P. Muslims. Out of which one was secured by a non-Muslim Leaguer and the remaining seven (Nawab Ismail Khan, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Aziz Ahmad Khan, Nawab Qizilbash of Bahraich, Rizwanullah, Begum Aijaz Rasool, and Choudhry Khaliquzzaman) came to us”.<sup>3</sup>

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2 . Ibid., pp. 42-43.

3 . Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, (Reprint), Lahore, Brothers Publishers 1993, p. 389.

The Constituent Assembly of India first met on the 9<sup>th</sup> December, 1946, and continued till 24<sup>th</sup> January, 1950. The Constitution of India was finally adopted on 26<sup>th</sup> November, 1949 and signed by the Members of the Assembly having accomplished the task of framing the Constitution assigned to it adjourned *sine die* and became *functus officio*.<sup>4</sup>

Hasrat as member of the Constituent Assembly, participated in the discussion regularly and his views are reflected in his speeches.

After the speech of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Hasrat presented amendment- "That the consideration of the Draft Constitution of India be postponed till the election of a fresh and competent Constituent Assembly on the basis of joint electorate and the formation of political rather than communal parties in India".<sup>5</sup> The President had allowed to move it.

Hasrat said – "I was telling the reason why I do not regard this Constituent Assembly as a competent body. Firstly, because all over the world wherever a Constituent Assembly has been set up, it has been done as an outcome of revolution. Revolution does not necessarily mean an armed revolution. It only means that, when the prevailing system of Government has come to an end and another is intended to be set up in its place, a Constituent Assembly has been invariably called to frame and pass a constitution in the light of new conditions. If the previous form of Government were to continue then there was no need of a Constituent Assembly. Look at our new constitution drafted by Dr. Ambedkar. There is nothing new in it. He has

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4 . *Constituent Assembly Debates Official Report*, vol. I, (Second Reprint), New Delhi, Lok Sabha Secretariat, 1989, p. Preface.

5 . *Constituent Assembly Debate Official Report*, vol. VII, op.cit., p. 44.

mostly copied out either the Government of India Act of 1935, or as admitted by him, has drawn from the constitutions of other countries. A bit from here and a bit from there – it is a Pandora's Box. This is what has been produced by our friend Dr. Ambedkar! My biggest complaint on this account is that if for the purpose of drafting a constitution he had to copy out the constitutions of other countries, then why did he not embody the latest and the best constitution? How was it that he looked up to the constitutions of Australia, Canada, America, and England, but the constitution of the Soviet Union did not catch his eye? I have jotted down all the points he has made in his speech. This is not the time to reply them in detail, but this much I can say that he has retained all the bad points that he could lay his hands upon. He has observed that there should be no rigidity and legalism, but has he at any place said that a Unitary System of Government should be established? At one place he mentioned that he could not provide for the village Panchayats. If he had kept the Soviet Constitution in view, there would have been no difficulty in his way. I claim it and I challenge him on that point. For example, he has said that unless there is a unitary type of Government and a powerful Centre, nothing can be done. Such talk is beside the point. He does not know that it is so in the Soviet Constitution. What he has done is to allocate some subjects to Provinces, some to the Centre and some have been put in the concurrent list. In Soviet Constitution, every constituent state has been made a permanent republic; and to win its confidence every component unit has been given control over the defence, foreign relations and communications. What has been the result? He says that it would be detrimental, but there the Soviet Government have gained the confidence of their component states. The result



has been that all parts of the Soviet Union, considered from the point of view of population they are all Muslim republics – have helped their utmost in the last war. People of Caucasia and of every war-ravaged region have stood wholeheartedly by the Soviet Union. Cossacks and others who rendered help all belonged to the Union. Thus his observation is unjustified. He is not taking the people into his confidence, and says. that all should merge”.<sup>6</sup>

He further says, “I repeat what I have already said, that the reason why this House is not competent, is that you have consulted all the constitutions of the world; but you have not cared to see the latest and the best constitutions. The second point arises, what was the basis of the election of our Constituent Assembly? It was on communal basis. Muslims had elected Muslims and Hindus had voted for the Hindus, but the States were not represented. What was the position at the time of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly? On your own admission there were three parties, namely, the Congress, the Muslim League and the States, but up to that time the States had not come in. No member of the Muslim League had taken any part. The result has been that the constitution that has been framed has been forged by one party alone. How can you enforce it on others? I mean to say that no reliance can be placed by us as the Constitution has been framed by one party alone. In the situation that has now arisen we also find the same, namely that there is only one party. It is like this: the Muslim League is finished, it has dissolved itself and all the States have merged themselves in the ‘Indian Union’, and now only the Indian Government, namely one party, has remained in the field, That is why we have to form political parties so that your difficulties may come to an end”.<sup>7</sup>

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6 . Ibid., p. 45.

7 . Ibid., p. 46.

On that occasion another member of Constituent Assembly about any better solution Satyanarayan Sinha (Bihar General) and questioned Hasrat Mohani that Did you find out any better solution ? Hasrat replied, "I am coming to that, Dr. Ambedkar has just said that the majority party should be considerate towards the Minority party. I say: we do not want them. You have provided in the constitution that 14 per cent of the seats should be reserved for the Muslims. You still consider yourself 86 per cent and Muslims to be 14 per cent. So long as you have this communalism, nothing can be done. Why do you say that Muslims are in a Minority. So long as you depict them in communal colours Muslims shall remain a Minority. When we come as members of a political party or as members of the Independent Communist party or as Socialists and then form a coalition party, then as a whole they will be arrayed against the rest.

"You say that a long time has elapsed that many things have happened and that you have worked so hard. Mr. President, I would recall that when Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru had presented the Draft. Constitution, I had then raised an objection and he had advised me to leave alone a primary matter. I had thereupon pointed out to him that it would be absurd to leave aside a point which is to be settled first. I had also pointed out that by doing so he would not be taking any strong and firm stand but would be stuffing irrelevant matter in all directions. I had also enquired what he would do if questions were raised on these issues, if without taking any decision, he started framing the constitution. It is a futility; we should see what type of Constitution is required. We want to make a picture, but if that picture is not painted correctly, it cannot be termed as a picture. You will say that you have worked hard and that quite a long time

has elapsed. My answer would be that there was neither any difficulty nor any risk. I had protested at that time and I was glad that the Honourable President had stated that the point would be considered and it was on that understanding that we had discussed the resolution. You know that the same thing has happened in Pakistan as well. Mr. Jinnah had said that as long as the Constituent Assembly is not elected, the constitution can not be passed. This is the reason why I am telling you that so long as the Constituent Assembly is not elected on non-communal basis, you have no right to get a constitution passed by this Constituent Assembly. No matter receives any consideration from you, because you are inflated with the idea that you are in a majority and whatever you like, will be passed. Do not imagine that no blame will come upon you. I am alone and I am saying all that I can say. You may not agree. In reality you are doing all that the British Government had been doing. After sometime they used to give us pensions and used to ask us to stay at home. But why should we do so ?

“I would like to ask you what you, are doing in Hyderabad. You say that a Constituent Assembly will be set up which would frame a constitution. You have accepted this principle for Hyderabad. Why don't you do it here? Obviously all this is being done on communal lines in which truth and justice have no place.

“If he says that he cannot do that, he has no power to elect a new Constituent Assembly on the basis of joint electorate and that would be done after the constitution has been framed, then I repeat what you have said, that 'legalism' and 'rigidity' should be cast aside. I ask him whether he can set up a

Constituent Assembly in Hyderabad without the Nizam's firman. But here, we set up an electorate for the Constituent Assembly as we felt the need for it; so it is incorrect to say that we can not do it. 'Where there is a will, there is a way, If you are earnest to be just to the country and if you want to treat every one equally, then I give you a warning that your endeavour to assimilate all into one whole, to build a paramount Indian power, will bring disaster. The latest example is that of Aurangzeb the Emperor. After conquering the whole of India he annexed the two Southern States of Bijapur and Golconda with the intention of founding a unitary Mughul Empire. What was the result? They say Aurangzeb lost his kingdom because of his bigotry but I say it was lost because of his imperialistic ideas. If he had not done that, he would not have lost a kingdom. Do not think it is easy to form a single unitary Government by coercing each and all into your fold. That can not last. You should hold fresh elections on non-communal basis, on the basis of joint electorates, and then whatever constitution you frame, will be acceptable to us. We regard the constitution framed by you, worthy of being consigned to the waste paper basket".<sup>8</sup>

Hasrat Mohani at another occasion on 17 May 1949, supported another member of Constituent Assembly. Hasrat says, "Sir, I am inclined to support my friend, Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena, and also my friend, Damodar Swarup Seth, for the following reasons: I support Mr. Saksena because he has adopted the same plea in his amendment as was adopted by me in the beginning when this Assembly met first. I said then and I say it even now that this House is not competent to frame this Constitution, because this House was elected on a very

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8. Ibid., pp. 46-47.

narrow electorate and that of a communal nature – rank communal nature – and it has resulted in the formation of a single party in this Assembly, and therefore it is ridiculous and absurd to entrust the constitution-making power to it. That party represents only one view and that is the only party in existence. When I say that, when I am of the opinion that this House is incompetent to frame the Constitution, it is obvious that I must support Mr. Saksena who wants the same as myself. He says, postpone the declaration of your ultimate object and your ultimate policy until a new House is elected on the broad principle of joint electorates”.<sup>9</sup>

Not only Hasrat Mohani, but also the other members of the Constituent Assembly considered it as legal Constituent Assembly. But at last the majority of the members of that Assembly did not accept it.

## **7.2 Report on the Principles of the Union Constitution**

On 21 July 1947, as the member of Constituent Assembly Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presented a report on the Principles of the Union Constitution. But Hasrat opposed it. He said, “I have stated that before you take into consideration the Report. I want to make certain points clear. In this paper, which he claims to be a supplementary report, Pandit Nehru has made certain suggestions. After all, these are only his suggestions. Is it necessary for myself or for anybody else to accept his suggestions? I for one do not accept these suggestions. Besides, I have got very strong reasons for that, Pandit Nehru the other day said that we have already passed the Objectives Resolution and we

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9 . *Constituent Assembly Debates Official Report*, vol. VIII, op.cit., pp. 40-41.

have to keep that resolution before us in drafting everything now or afterwards".<sup>10</sup>

The President of the session whether it was his suggestion that the Report should not be taken into consideration? Hasrat replied in that yes and further said, "Yes. What I say is this. Pandit Nehru in that Objectives Resolution. Says simply that we will have a Republic. It does not say whether the Republic will be a Unitary Republic or a Federal Republic. Even if it is a Federal Republic, it does not make it clear whether that Federal Republic, will be of a centrifugal or centripetal character and unless and until we decide all these things, it is futile to determine the model of Provincial Constitutions. This is why I suggested in my speech the other day: you want to get one thing passed in your provincial constitution; when you have passed the provincial constitution and when I propose on the occasion of a proposed revised Union Constitution Report coming for consideration before the next meeting of the Assembly perhaps in October, an amendment to the effect that it must be a Union of Indian Socialist Republics, then you may say, 'you are precluded from doing that as that will be something like a settled fact. We have passed the provincial constitution and now there is no scope left for Hasrat Mohani to add anything or to say against that'.

"I am afraid, Sir, he said that it would be very easy for you to declare my amendments to the Union Constitution out of order as you did the other day in connection with an amendment proposed by my friend. Mr. Tajammul Husain. You will say 'Well the provincial constitution has been accepted and

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10 . *Constituent Assembly Debates Official Report*, vol. IV, op.cit., pp. 711-12.

passed, now, your amendments are out of order. You will say, that the report has been accepted and therefore my amendments are out of order. I will have raised. no objection at this stage, if this matter stands over. Then I will have every right to propose amendments on the occasion when you go clause by clause. Or I will have full rights to say that I oppose the Objectives Resolution also. I have *got* two reasons. One I have made clear that it does not decide anything”.<sup>11</sup>

Hasrat Mohani again says in the Objective Resolution on the 18<sup>th</sup> September 1948 sitting said that the first thing about the Objective Resolution he had got verified copies of this thing together with the two speeches delivered by Pandit Nehru at the time of the passing of the Objective Resolution. It is this:

“The Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a Constitution”.<sup>12</sup>

Further he said, “This is the Objectives Resolution, that is an Independent Sovereign Republic. These are the three words and Pandit Nehru has declared more than once, and it has made history, that there will be no change introduced in this Objectives Resolution. To my astonishment, when I got this copy of the draft Constitution, I found as a sort of an introductory remark, Dr. Ambedkar has given the direct lie to that thing. He will not follow this Objectives Resolution. Here is what he himself admits. In paragraph 2, he says, about the Preamble: ‘The Objectives Resolution adopted by the

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11 . Ibid., p. 712.

12 . *Constituent Assembly Debates Official Report*, vol. IX, op.cit., p. 1678.

Constituent Assembly in January 1947, declares that India is to be a Sovereign Independent Republic. The Drafting Committee has adopted the phrase Sovereign Democratic Republic because independence is usually implied in the word Sovereign, so that there is hardly anything to be gained by adding the word Independent".<sup>13</sup>

### 7.3 Preamble

On 17<sup>th</sup> October 1949 sitting of the Constituent Assembly one Honourable Member suggested that the Preamble to be taken up when we meet again in November for the third reading. By that time, the Drafting Committee will also have submitted its final report to this House.

Hasrat Mohani objected to that, because unless we get the Preamble passed today, how could you produce any report on the Second reading? On this issue K.M. Munshi said that once in my life I support Maulana Saheb.<sup>14</sup>

The President ordered that – "I think we should get the Preamble also passed today. The Constitution as a whole has to be passed in its second Reading and the Preamble forms part of the Constitution. Therefore, the Preamble, cannot be postponed. If necessary, we shall sit in the afternoon and dispose of it, unless we can do it within fifteen minutes.

"I find there are quite a good number of amendments to the Preamble in vol. I of the Printed List. Many of them bring in certain matters really not germane to the Preamble but by way of introduction of the Preamble. But I find that Maulana Hasrat Mohani's amendment is one of the substance and seeks to

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13 . Ibid., pp. 1678-79.

14 . *Constituent Assembly Debates Official Report*, vol. X, op.cit., p. 429.



bring in altogether new ideas. Therefore, I would ask him if he wishes to move his amendment first”.<sup>15</sup>

On that issue he speak – “I have three amendments. I want to move first? I wish to move 453 first. It runs thus : That in the Preamble, for the words “We, the People of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic’ the following be substituted :

“We, the People of India having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Federal Republic or alternatively, “We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Independent Republic.

“I shall just now give my reasons for proposing these amendments. In view of the proverbial shortness of public memory, I want first to remind the Members about a very fundamental fact that has been brought into the present Constitution and in the Draft prepared by Dr. Ambedkar. I refer to volume IV No.6 of the official report of the proceedings of this Assembly-list 738, Part I: Federal territory and jurisdiction. Under ‘name of territory and federation’ it is said that the Federation hereby established shall be a sovereign independent republic known as India. So it is clearly laid down that we will have only a Federation and it will be a federation of Indian republics. But my friend, Dr. Ambedkar has cleverly, I suppose, dropped the word ‘federal’ altogether and the word independent also has been dropped and he has said ‘democratic State’. I objected to that when I spoke the other day”.<sup>16</sup>

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15 . Ibid., pp. 429-430.

16 . Ibid., p. 430.

Deshbandhu Gupta said that – “To remove such an amendment at this stage is out of order and it should therefore be disallowed. Hasrat said, “I should submit that I tried my best in the very beginning to stop you. I said that when you are going to decide the fate of India you should first make up your mind to find out and declare what kind of constitution you are going to frame. But I was ruled out. Of course I said if you do not accept my suggestion then you should not grumble, when the Preamble is presented; should I not raise any objection? Then I will not listen to you if you say because we have passed such and such a thing”.<sup>17</sup>

Deshbandhu Gupta again says that May I have ruling? Hasrat replied that “I say that you are responsible for preventing me from getting this thing discussed in the very beginning and therefore, if you have to redraft the whole Constitution it does not matter. I shall insist on it. I have every right to propose any amendment in the Preamble, and if you find you have already passed something quite different, let me tell you that the Preamble will not be subject to your erroneous decisions and you will have to correct those decisions and it may take a year or two. But it does not matter. But unless and until you conform to the accepted principles prevalent all over the world, I think it will be ridiculous to pass this so perfunctorily”.<sup>18</sup>

President said, “The object of putting the Preamble last was that the Preamble may be in conformity with the Bill as accepted”.<sup>19</sup>

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17. Ibid., p. 430.

18. Ibid., p. 431.

19. Ibid., p. 432.

But Hasrat already said in 15 November 1948 – “Sir, I beg to state that on the 6<sup>th</sup> November, I have notice of an amendment to this effect: That the consideration of the Draft Constitution clause by clause be postponed till after it has been finally decided which of the following three sets of words are to be incorporated in the Preamble of the same – Sovereign Independent Republic, Sovereign Democratic Republic, Sovereign Democratic State. It has not yet been decided which of these three sets is to be incorporated in the Constitution, and yet I understand that the Congress Party has decided to consider this Constitution, clause by clause, without deciding the most important question of what words should be there – Republic or State, in the Preamble.

“Have a complaint to make. All the amendments of which notice was given to your office have been printed, but my amendment has been left out. May I know the reason why this has been left out?”<sup>20</sup>

Hasrat continued his speech saying – “I support this amendment because it is strictly on the lines of the Objectives Resolution. Instead of conforming to the Objectives Resolution, Dr. Ambedkar has changed the word ‘Republic’ into a ‘state’ and the word ‘independent’ into ‘Democratic’. This shows the way his mind is working. The Draft Constitution makes me sure that he wants to establish a unitary Indian Empire which will again be subject to the greater Anglo-American Empire consisting of America and its satellites, the British Commonwealth and some of the Western Powers of Europe”.<sup>21</sup>

Hasrat says on 17<sup>th</sup> October 1949 – “I have been given some sort of promise. Very well, Sir. According to that report the committee appointed for

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20 . *Constituent Assembly Debates Official Report*, vol. VII, op.cit., p. 397.

21 . *Ibid.*, p. 416.

framing the constitution was given a clear directive that the Constitution should be framed in accordance with the Objectives Resolution passed by this Assembly. It is quite strange that instead of following the Objectives Resolution, Dr. Ambedkar is passing anything he likes. He wants the Objectives Resolution to be in conformity with his erroneous decision. He has reversed the order and this is what I object to most because it has changed the character of the Constitution. As I pointed out here, what was the object of the Objectives Resolution and the report. They said that it will be a Federation of Sovereign Independent Republics. Mark this plural form 'Republics'. Now he has reversed the whole thing. He has dropped the word 'Federation'; he has dropped the word Republic and he has dropped also the word, 'independent' for some ulterior motive which I am not going to disclose at this moment. I reserve it for a future occasion when I will throw it in his face when the time comes. For the present I say that according to the Objectives Resolution and according to the instructions given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru they should at least change this article in this way, that the spirit of what he suggested may be included in the article proposed by Dr. Ambedkar. He infact, accepted this thing; he drops the word 'independent'. For the word 'independent' I want to put the word 'Federal' that is, a sovereign federal Republic; it does not matter if it is not a Republic. When say a Sovereign Federal Republic, it means a Republic and the State units of that will also be Republics or it will be a federation, at least not what he wants. Instead of having a Republic or any Federation, he wants only a Union of States and the 'Union' also in the sense of a Federation. I say 'No'. He takes that word only because it implies also a sort of a unitary system, and whatever he wants he has reversed and changed the whole

character of this Constitution, We mean and the Objectives Resolution means that India will be made a Federation of Independent Republics and he now says 'No'. India will be transformed and in the place of the British Empire you will create an Indian Empire which will consist only of States which will have got no power and in the States you have also included and brought down the Provinces also. Formerly, I thought that the States will get the benefit of this inclusion but you have brought down the provinces also and you have deprived them of everything and even the sort of provincial autonomy has been taken away and in fact you have allowed nothing for the Provinces. You decided that you will have elected Governors for the provinces. I objected to the word 'Governors' in the very beginning and when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said" 'I cannot satisfy the Maulana; he is a very deep man: He is afraid of this word 'Governor', I suggested that instead of the word 'Governor' we may put the word 'President' also in regard to the provinces. They said that they need not to do that. I did not press that matter at that time but now I find on hearing the explanations given by Dr. Ambedkar that he has reversed the whole picture and he has let the cat out of the bag. He has clearly said: 'What will be India that is Bharat? It will be a Union of States'. What does this mean? You have discarded the word 'Republic'; you have discarded the word 'Federation'; you have discarded the word 'Independent', and my honourable Friend, Dr. Ambedkar says : 'Well, what does it matter? It does not matter when we say Republic. It is immaterial whether you call it independent or not'. I say of this is immaterial why is he so anxious to change that word 'independent' into 'democratic'? There is something secretly going behind the scenes and I pointed out on a previous occasion that when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru changed

his mind and went to England to have some sort of connection with the: British Commonwealth, then he thought that we will have a Republic and also 'Independent'. So he wanted to create a loop-hole for himself because he can now say: 'We are already a Republic'. We are not an independent Republic. What sort of a Republic are we? Some sort of Republic that these European countries, these Imperialists, who are past-masters in this jugglery of words, have coined new phrases; and what are these new phrases ? Holland has invented a phrase a Republic Dominion, and France has coined a new word for Vietnam which says that it will be a colonial Republic. We admit that Vietnam is a Republic and Holland says that they have accepted Indonesia as a Republic but it says it is a Republican Dominion. Instead of the Dominion it will be included in an imperial regime and that fraud was brought about by Holland and by France and do you propose that you will also bring about the same fraud to be enacted here ? You said that we have got the word Republic. You have dropped the word Federation. You will also say that of course Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru has agreed to remain in the British Commonwealth because they accept we are independent. But what sort of independence? It will be a republican dominion. Because if it is real republic and not a republican dominion, you should have nothing to do with any King or Emperor directly or indirectly in any manner. When once Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru has agreed to remain in the British Commonwealth, I think he has forfeited his right to call India as a Republic. It is not a republic. If it is a republic, it is a republican dominion, as I said just now.

So, my alternative proposal is this. Either introduce the word 'Federal' instead of the word 'Democratic'. It will make something clear. If you do not

want to introduce this word 'federation', if you are afraid of it, I will grant a concession to Dr. Ambedkar and you stick to the original wording of the Objectives Resolution which is given here. It will be 'Independent Sovereign Republic', I say, drop this word 'democratic' and keep to the actual words used in the Objectives Resolution. If you sue the words 'Independent Republic' my object will be served. I come forward and say that whatever has been done by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru is absolutely a false policy".<sup>22</sup>

President put it 'Does any one else wish to say anything about this amendment? I will put it to the vote. First alternative –

The question is – 'That in the Preamble for the words we, the people of India, solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic' the following the substitute –

'We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign Federal Republic'. The amendment was rejected. Hasrat moved the amendment 'that in the Preamble for the words, we the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute, India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic' the following the substitute: we, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute to India, into a Sovereign Independent Republic'. The amendment was rejected.<sup>23</sup>

Hasrat moved the amendment – "That in the Preamble, for the words "We, the People of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic' the words 'We, the People of India, having

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22 . *Constituent Assembly Debates Official Report*, vol. X, op.cit., pp. 432-434.

23 . *Ibid.*, p. 434.

solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Union of Indian Socialistic Republics to be called U.S.S.R., on the lines of U.S.S.R. be substituted”.<sup>24</sup> But at last that the amendment After completion of twenty five years of Indian Constitution, in 1976 forty second Amendment Act 1976 added the word Sovereign Socialist Secular word added in the Preamble of the Constitution as follows :

“We, The People of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens: Justice, social, economic and political; Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all; Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation; In our Constituent Assembly this twenty sixth day of November, 1949, do hereby Adopt, Enact and Give to ourselves this Constitution”.<sup>25</sup>

#### **7.4 Unitary and Federal**

The Constituent Assembly framed different committees to discuss their reports and recommendations in its debates. Are Indian constitution Federal or Unitary on that topic Hasrat says – “Mr. President, before this, a mistake was committed by Sardar Patel, and I think, now, my friend Sir N. Gopaldaswami is committing a greater blunder. He is an eminent jurist. But I would beg you to consider as to what course you are adopting now. At that time I asked Sardar Patel that he had not till then decided any principle about the centre nor had it

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24 . Ibid., p. 435.

25 . D.D. Basu, *Introduction of the Constitution of India*, 18<sup>th</sup> edition, New Delhi, Prentice Hall of India Pvt. Ltd., 1998, pp. 20-21 & 483.



been decided as to what type of Constitution the Union would have, whether it would be a Union of the Dominion, or a Republic? If it is a Republic then would it be Socialist or Nationalist? In short, you have not decided as to what shall be its shape. You have simply said that 'all the powers shall vest in the Centre, and the Centre shall probably assume all powers. I say that there cannot be any greater blunder than this. It means that you consider that all the members here are fools. That is why I have raised this objection after full consideration. Replying to it, Pandit Nehru said that in the Resolution on objectives the word 'Republic' was present. Then I kept quiet but I wish to know what you are dreaming of, now. Pandit Nehru should know that our British Imperialist friends have already bound you, and they will now keep you in their dominion and for that they have created a new device. And in creating it France, Holland, England, America and the last in the queue. Chiang-Kai-Shek-the worst of men – have combined together. It is this: They have invented a sort of a Republic Dominion. They are thrusting this Republican Dominion on Indonesia, Holland is thrusting this Republican Dominion on Indonesia. France is thrusting this Republican Dominion on Indo-China, Vietnam. You have been made fools. They are going to thrust the same kind of Republican Indian Dominion on you and I am sure that you will have no escape from it. You will have to remain a dominion forever. They are pastmasters in the art of jugglery of words and double dealing. They say one thing and mean quite another thing. Our Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten, has said that we have compelled all the Indian States to join the Indian Union. This appears a fine performance, that we have brought all the Indian States under our thumb. I say that you have not brought them under your control, rather you have gone

under their control. You will naturally ask, how? It is like this: when you frame a Union Constitution, then what will happen? Your reply will be that till now it is only Indian dominion. No doubt you have got it and also along with that the right of changing the constitution. Now you have to think as to how the constitution shall be altered. Nothing can be passed unless three-fourths of the members agree to it. Those States, which shall now always be in the dominion, are almost one-third of the Union's strength. I ask you whether the representatives of the States, who have acceded to the Union, will also agree to change the Indian dominion into Socialist Republic? If that is so, you are deceiving yourselves. You are deceiving your own conscience if you think: that you can get out of this wretched Dominion Status. You have got one-third of your members belonging to the States and you have proposed that for changing the constitution, you will require a majority of three-fourths of the members of the Constituent Assembly. Don't you see that it will become impossible for you to change your constitution. You have condemned yourself to remain within the British Empire, in the British Commonwealth as a Dominion. Therefore, I say you have been made fools. I do not know how these friends of mine of the Congress High Command, who are my friends and co-workers, have come to accept this. Besides this Pandit Nehru has said that the Resolution on objectives has been passed and now no one has got the right to say anything. I say that what he calls Republic is not a real a Republic. It is that contemptible thing which the British Imperialists call by other names. Britishers have created the same thing in Indonesia. It is not hidden from anyone and therefore you should not commit the mistake, which Indonesians have committed".<sup>26</sup>

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26 . *Constituent Assembly Debates Official Report*, vol. V, op.cit., pp. 41-42.

Hasrat's speech was in Urdu but at some places he used English words. On that issue one member of the Constituent Assembly M.S. Aney (Deccan States) asked whether a member can deliver a bi-lingual speech. The President said that for the convenience of other members he is interpreting himself partly in the English language. Hasrat further says – "Thank you Sir. In this connection, I think it necessary to point out to you that the independence, which you have got, was already, christened as Dominion Status but they openly call it as an independent status. They never meant full independence. Who will be bigger fools than us, who knowing that we are being cheated, are celebrating our independence and are illuminating our houses? I can't understand this! As I am not given to oppose the opinion of the majority, I kept quiet then, but now, I say that real independence has not come to us. I have got eminent jurists and wisemen as my friends here but it seems that the vision of all is befogged and they seem to be in a dream. I was saying that members of the Congress High Command are my friends and, have been my co-workers. I came here to this Constituent Assembly through the Muslim League, generally for the purpose of cooperating with my old friends. But now I find that they do not want my co-operation and they are rejecting my co-operation. There is no alternative left for me but to oppose them tooth and nail, and I oppose them on the ground that I have just explained that they have been made fools by these British Imperialists.

"Another proof of the fact that you have been befooled is that even such an enemy of Indian freedom as Mr. Churchill is, went out of his way and congratulated the Labour Government for having this thing passed. He said, 'I do not mind whether this is only for a short time. It is quite sufficient for me

that they have accepted for the time being to remain a Dominion'. Mr. Churchill is clever enough you know that. I am very sorry and it is very surprising that people of such keen intellect as my friend Mr. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Radhakrishnan and Dr. Ambedkar do not see this trick and this deception.

"You have stated that you have agreed to take in these Indian States and you have taken one-third of your members from the States. You are going to make a provision that to change your constitution, to change from a Dominion to a Socialist Republic you will require a majority of three-fourths. This is obviously impossible. So long as these representatives of the States are part of your Assembly, of your Parliament, you cannot get out of this wretched thing - Dominion and commonwealth. I wish to know, what has happened to you? I could understand your demand for a strong Centre till Pakistan was not separated, you apprehended trouble from the Muslim majority provinces, but not now when Pakistan has been separated".<sup>27</sup>

Another member Mr. Mohammed Sharif, Mysore State, requested Hasrat to come to the point. Hasrat's reply was "Yes, I am speaking what objections I had to offer to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's previous Union Constitution Scheme the same objection applies to this scheme also because these are identical. I maintain that the more natural and better thing would be to hand over all powers to the units, and then they may give all or these three subjects, viz. Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications to the Centre, rather than handing over all powers to the Centre first which in its turn would delegate whatever powers it chooses to the unit. I don't believe in any Empire,

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27 . Ibid., pp. 43-44.

Kingdom, Dominions or Commonwealth. We have had enough of these things. Now we will have none of them neither Emperor nor dictator nor Commonwealth nor Dominion. We will have our Union only of Socialist Republics, nothing less than that.

“This is my general objection, but since you have included the States also, my objection becomes ten times stronger. What powers have you given to our provinces? To my mind, you have curtailed their rights and powers which they had got even before independence. You have not increased them even by an iota. Rather you have curtailed them. But this depend on your sweet will as you have got the majority. It is but natural that all the members here are compelled to be bound by the Congress decisions. In fact, there should be no question of the Congress Party or the Muslim League Party as you have forsaken communalism. Justice demands that every member here should be told that they can live as members of political parties and not as Hindus and Muslims.

“What is the necessity for your having a strong centre vesting all powers in the centre only ? What is the ground and what is your objective?

“Sir, you see I have said all this as you have given no powers to the provinces, and I pointed out this to you, for, you treat us as if all of us were fools.

“Therefore I ask my friend Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar not to befool himself by saying that you want a strong Centre. I don’t recognize that Centre. The only Centre that I will recognize will be that of our Union of Socialist Republics”.<sup>28</sup>

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28 . Ibid., pp. 43-44.

In that discussion Hasrat says – “Sir, my Honourable friend Sardar Patel has presented the Report before you and with due respect to him I raise an objection to it. It is that till the Report on Union Constitution is presented before the House, consideration of this Report seems quite inappropriate. The reason is not this, as Patel Sahib has himself said, that it is not final and the mistakes, if any, could be rectified later on. If only verbal changes were intended I would never have raised this point. I want to tell you, and through you, my nationalist and national-socialist friends, who are present here, that my objection is a vital and far-reaching one. If you lightly pass over this objection, then I am sure you will have to repent this action of yours and regret it some day.

“Looking around, I find that except Nationalist members no one else is present here. There was one Communist member from Bengal, but somehow he has been ousted. From amongst the Forward Blockists, Sarat Chandra Bose has resigned from the membership. Mr. Tripathi of U.P. and one Forward Blockist of C.P., though they have not resigned their seats, for some unknown reasons they are not present in the House. I feel it my duty to place the viewpoint of such of my friends before you”.<sup>29</sup>

Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel objected that the debate is going to wrong track. Hasrat’s reply – “Had there been some ulterior motives behind it, I would not have put it up in this way. For example, if I had done all this with communal feeling and dilatory tactics. I would have asked you to withhold this Report until the report on Minorities is put up before us. But in fact, the

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29 . *Constituent Assembly Debates Official Report*, vol. IV, op.cit., p. 580.

question is simply this that you should proceed on some principles and do not put up the Provincial Constitution before the Union Constitution is put before the House.

No doubt, Pandit Nehru has moved the Objectives Resolution of the Republic, but it has not been made clear as yet whether the proposed Republic would be of Unitary type or of Federal type. Again it has not been as yet decided in case it is a Federal Republic, whether the Government would be centrifugal or centripetal.

If you do not accede to my request, my party will line up with the Leftist groups and with the aid of the Communists and Forward Blockists it will compel you to accede to our demand. Let me explain this also in this way, that, unless there is some change in the Union Constitution and the Constitution of the Union is not made satisfactorily, till then the condition of the Provinces will remain unchanged and, it will not go beyond provincial autonomy, and we will, as an Indian saying has it; 'we would always remain shoe-makers that we were'.

In the Report which Sardar Saheb has just now put up, he has very intelligently stated in it that they wanted to appoint Governors. You will see that with this word only, the whole constitution of the Union is defaced and distorted.

Even if we accept the suggestion of Sardar Patel, the clear meaning would be simply this that the Provinces would get Provincial autonomy only, and if this is so, I will say that all the years of your sacrifices, labours and the 'Quit India' Resolution, one and all will be rendered useless".<sup>30</sup>

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30 . Ibid., pp. 580-81.

The President interfered that Maulana Hasrat Mohani's amendment was in order. It is open to the House to throw it out. Then Hasrat says "All the time you were telling us that we would establish an independent Republic and parties shall be formed not on the basis of religion, but on socialistic principles".<sup>31</sup>

At last the President call upon Maulana Hasrat Mohani to move his amendment – "Sir, I move my amendment to this Clause No. 1. I think I will have some difficulty in expressing myself in a foreign tongue but to accommodate my friend from Madras, I shall try my best to express myself as best as I can. I move:

'That in Clause 1, for the words 'a Governor' the words 'a President' shall be substituted'.

"By this I intend to say that we have got an inherent right of all the members of all these constituent provinces to demand a Provincial Republic for every Province. What we have intended and what we thought and what we were expecting to get, we wanted and we thought that we will get a Union of Indian Republics. My friend Mr. Tripathi had moved an amendment in the last session of this Assembly that he wanted to introduce the word 'Socialist'. It did not have the support of the House. We will see to it afterwards. If we have got a Federal Republic, it does not matter whether you agree to make it a Socialist Republic or not. In the first instance, you may have a Nationalist Constitution and majority of Nationalist members but I am sure that the tendency of the World is to become, everyone of us is becoming now Socialist minded and I

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31 . Ibid., p. 581.



think that the time is not far off when, as we expect, we will be able to form a solid group of leftists and I think that by the latest, in the next election, I hope that we will be able to capture the whole of the organization. If you now agree to make every province a Republic, I do not care whether you agree to make it socialistic or not. We will make it a socialist republic. But one thing I must say, you cannot shelve this question. You cannot say 'we want only a Republic in the Centre. We will not allow any of these Provinces to become a Republic', and as I said, this is a trick when you say that in each Province there shall be a Governor. I say that it must be a President, If you accept the word 'President', then it means that you agree to make every Province a Republic. If you refuse to accept the word 'President', then it means that you are determined to retain those Provinces as mere autonomous Provinces. You grant only Provincial autonomy and nothing else. If that is your intention, I most strongly protest against this sort of treatment which if I am not using any strong words, I shall say, it will be something like staging a farce on the people of all the Provinces, especially on my Province, the United Provinces. Here my friend Pandit Nehru says 'You can introduce afterwards any amendment you like to the Union Constitution'. I, say I introduce this amendment here and now, and ask you to make this word 'Governor' 'President', so that you may not be able to refuse to reopen the whole thing on the occasion of my moving an amendment to the Union Constitution. Then the question of the Union Constitution will anyhow come in and this difficulty will crop up. My friend Sardar Patel also said there is no difference whether we call Governor or President. There is a great difference. Once you disallow my amendment you will say 'No, we will have only Governor'. That means that you want to give us only Provincial

autonomy. You do not want many of the Provinces to go even a single step further. I have read very carefully your Union Report. In this Union Report, page 12, Clause 9 says : 'The executive authority of the Ruler of a Federated State shall continue to be exercisable in that State with respect to Federal subjects until otherwise provided by the Federal authority'.

To this Clause 9, a note is added which says : 'In this respect the position of the provincial units is rather different. These have no executive power in respect of Federal subjects save as given by Federal law'.

"In respect of the Indian States you say something. But you say the position of the Provincial units is different. They have no residuary power in respect of special subjects. You fix only the provincial subjects. And you ask us to accept this clause. We will not. Of course, you have got a majority. You can pass anything you like. But I ask in the name of justice and fairplay 'What right have you got to deprive the provinces of India from aspiring to become Republics of the Union of Federal Republics, and not only Federal Republics but Socialist Federal Republics at that'? This was moved in a former meeting of the Assembly. You did not accept that. But the position was quite different then. You were suspecting the Pakistan people might make mischief. But they have been separated now. Some Muslim League members raised this objection; 'Now that India and Pakistan have become two different things, what is the meaning of the All-India Muslim League'. All India Muslim League means the Muslim League of India, i.e. of the minority Provinces. So, they said, 'If you want to have a Muslim League, you can start one for Pakistan, where we the Muslims of the Muslim minority provinces can have no influence, except

through the Council of the All India Muslim League which according to the decision of Mr. Jinnah still exists and to which new members have already been elected. I am one of the members from U.P. (Interruption).

Mr. President order, order.

An Honourable Member asked “Does the speaker think that this is the All India Muslim League Council?

Hasrat, “No, no. I am pointing out that I have nothing to do with Pakistan except as a member of the All -India Muslim League Council. Where is the harm If we take the Union Constitution first You have deliberately put the Provincial Constitution here first. What is the meaning of that? By taking this medel provincial report first you are doing us a very grave injustice. Of course, you can have it passed. But you cannot prohibit the provinces from demanding independence and becoming republics. You have said ‘We want only a Unitary Republic’. Then why have you introduced the word. ‘Federation’ in your Report here? It is simply to deceive the public. You fight shy of the word ‘Unitary’. Therefore to have your way you said ‘Federation’. This is why you want to preclude the provinces from demanding republican government. But I tell you, you cannot compel them. You cannot impose your authority on them. We want a Union of Socialist Republics and if you persist in imposing nationalism and a nationalist constitution on your provinces you will soon be swept off the face of the earth”.<sup>32</sup>

### **7.5 Princely States**

Hasrat was the only person who stood up in Constituent Assembly and told, Sardar Patel on the issue of Princely states :

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32 . Ibid., pp. 589-91.

“you have done the same thing that Hastings, Wellesley and Clive did. You have snatched away independence from the weak states by the strength of your powerful armies. God’s curse be upon your Department”.<sup>33</sup> It will be remembered that in Hasrat’s scheme of 1942 he had envisaged the states becoming members of one or other of his federation after they had attained a democratic structure and administration. When the Constitution was completed and put for signature in Parliament Hasrat refused to put his signature to the Constitution.<sup>34</sup> He was still not satisfied with the type of independence. An entry in his diary for 15th August 1949 reads :

“In connection with Independence Day, there was a banquet at Rajaji to night. As no conveyance could be arranged I could not go. Besides, I cannot find it in me to regard the independence we have been granted as real independence”.<sup>35</sup>

## 7.6 Last Days of Hasrat

Maulana Jamal Mian Firangi Mahali was with him on this last Pilgrimage. He has written an account of this Pilgrimage and of Hasrat’s last journey to his eternal rest: “Maulana performed his last *Haj* in 1950. Perhaps during the journey he had sensed that his days were drawing to a close. In Madina, after two or three attendances (at the tomb of the Prophet) he expressed his intention of returning, and told him that he wanted to get back to Lucknow via Karachi and Lahore very quickly, as he did not have many more days to live.

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33 . Hasrat Mohani, op.cit., p. 43.

34 . *The Hindustan Times*, Delhi, 27 Jan. 1950.

35 . Hasrat Mohani, op.cit., p. 44.

“He had not been in good health since 1949. He was looking very weak during the Haj too. After returning to Kanpur he at once shifted to Lucknow, the Maulana Jamal received a short message from him saying, ‘I am here and it weighs upon my mind that you are not here’.

“On reaching Lucknow when I went into his presence, he was laying on a cot on which some rough sort of jute matting or the like was spread. When I enquired about this I was told that the Maulana was adamant that he would not use a soft mattress or a carpet. I insisted on his using soft bedding and told him that if he continued to use jute matting he would get back-sores and that not only he but the people nursing him would be distressed. At this he agreed to use soft bedding and in characteristic style said, ‘I passed my whole life in this way, and now you want me to die on cushions and carpets’. He did not like taking medicine and injections. One of the doctors provoked him by saying sarcastically. ‘Maulana you are afraid of this small needle. He replied angrily ‘I never feared anything in my life. How I could be afraid of your needle? I only resist it because now I consider it quite useless’.

“During his illness, the late Maulana Habib-ur-Rahman Ludhyanavi came to visit him. To console him he said, ‘Don’t worry, Maulana. Your illness is not serious. You will soon get well. Hasrat got up on bed and said, ‘Now just listen to me, I am ill, it is true, but I am not a fool. I know definitely that my call has come’.

“On the first of the new year, that is, 1951, Hasrat made this entry in his diary. ‘1<sup>st</sup> January, 1951: Today is the first day of the new year. Everybody will be thinking that another year has been added to his age. But in fact my life has

been reduced by one year, and his death has come forward by one year. Jamal Mian sent me two novels. One I did not like at all. The other, 'The Good Earth', I started reading with some difficulty, but thanks to God, after a few pages, it created to interest to me. Today I read hundred pages".<sup>36</sup>

He was on his deathbed, and knew fully well that he would not recover, but he spent his time in creative pursuits, and in spiritual meditation and prayer. Maulana Jamal Mian again wrote, "Three days before his death, Hasrat expressed the wish that the bill for his medicines should be paid up. He was staying at my house but was spending his own money. I said what is the hurry? We shall pay after your recovery. But Maulana would not agree, and paid up all the bills. It is a strange coincidence that he deposited some money with the druggist over and above the amount of the sum due. On the day of his death the accounts stood balanced and not a single penny was due to him. On 13<sup>th</sup> May 1951, at about 3 a.m. his son-in-law Syed Abdus Sami Sahib Nusrat Mohani, informed me that the Maulana's condition was serious. When I reached him, his relatives standing around his bed, were crying. Hasrat was breathing his last. He recognized me and pointing towards his crying relatives with much effort and difficulty said: 'Tell them please, this is not new thing that is happening'. These were his last words. The same day he died at 12 noon and was buried in the feet of his spiritual mentors' grave in the graveyard of the *ulama* of Firangi Mahal which family commonly known in Lucknow, as the Bagh Maulvi Anwar, situated in the Rakabganj locality."<sup>37</sup>

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36 . Ibid., pp. 45-46.

37 . Ibid., p. 46.

# *Conclusion*

## CONCLUSION

Maulana Hasrat Mohani occupies a significant place in the socio-political history of modern India, especially in the history of our National Movement. His own family tradition was one of scholarship and religious devotion and the influence of family atmosphere and schooling combined left an undelible mark on his young mind. His strong religious belief made him firm and assertible throughout his life and nothing ever could have an adverse effect on him. According to K.H. Qadiri it was because of his steadfastness that inspite of being an extremist in his political ideas and activities, he remained conservative even reactionary in his religious beliefs.<sup>1</sup>

Hasrat belonged to U.P. and was actively involved with Muslim politics of the region. The attitude of the Muslim community was anti-colonial and aimed at overthrowing the British regime. Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement aimed at putting an end to this dominant tradition and attitude of the community and bringing the Muslims closer to the rulers. Its objective was to be loyal to the Britishers but the latter suspected the loyalty of the Muslim community. Although Hasrat acquired his education at Aligarh, he disagreed with the objectives of the Aligarh movement. He considered the British rule as oppressive and anarchical and desired that the people should drive away the Britishers and establish an independent regime. Therefore his role model was not Sir Syed or Ameer Ali but Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh.

Right from 1903 Hasrat made his powerful existence felt in the politics of the country especially through direct participation and through writings and

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1 . K.H. Qadiri, *Hasrat Mohani*, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, Delhi, 1985, p. 11.



speeches. Unlike other common youngsters after the completion of his education he did not take up a job in the civil and administrative fields but rather preferred to initiate his political career as a journalist. In 1903, at a tender age of 22 he started a journal called *Urdu-i Mualla*. It was both a literary and political journal, different from other Urdu magazines. Through it he tried his best to change the Muslim political views prevailing at that time in the Indian subcontinent. Also he appealed to the educated young Muslims to take active part in politics. It is from the files of *Urdu-i Mualla* that we can derive at a fairly clear picture of Hasrat's stand on the political issues of those years. Again in 1929 he started another newspaper called *Mustaqil* and the different issues in it helps us to some extent in understanding Hasrat's political thought and principles.

What appears from the articles of this journal is that Maulana Hasrat was an out and out a nationalist, staunchly opposed to every aspect of British power and thus a supporter of swadeshi movements i.e. for the Indian made goods. When he was struggling in his youth for his country's liberation simultaneously he showed deep interest in the political developments of the contemporary Islamic world and published articles related to this theme in his *Urdu-i Mualla*. Also it is proof enough to show that he was a great admirer and upholder of Hindu-Muslim unity. His writings sought to prove that the interest of the rulers and the ruled cannot be identical, that independence is the birth right of every man, and that one should work wholeheartedly with one's countrymen to win it. He realized that the unity of the Hindus and Muslims was a prerequisite for independence. Both communities had to make strenuous efforts and work together to make substantial progress towards independence.

He therefore worked openly and vigorously for Hindu-Muslim unity. He was so sincere in this regard that he collected verses from the Holy Quran on the theme of cooperation between believers and non-believers and argued that the Quran itself sanctioned such cooperation in temporal matters. Thus his sincere efforts and honesty for Hindu-Muslim unity proved to be a strong weapon against Britishers. Accordingly, keeping all above facts in mind, it may rightly be said that Maulana Hasrat Mohani was a great nationalist and the spirit of nationalism was in his blood since his very boyhood.

Hasrat Mohani was the first Muslim graduate of Aligarh to dive into the national movement as a leader of the revolutionary group and joined the Congress. The articles published in the *Urdu-i Mualla* were in favour of Swadeshi movement, boycott of foreign goods. Congress politics, particularly of the extremist wing which stood for the attainment of political freedom. He vehemently criticized the liberals and moderates of the Congress and was a great supporter of the extremists and led an uncompromising battle for independence. He never hesitated in criticizing any leader of whatever stature he may be and strongly wrote against powerful and famous leaders like Gandhi and Jinnah, Dr. Ansari, Mazhar-ul Haq, Motilal Nehru, Gokhale, Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad. His foresight, strong opposition to the moderates and liberals in the Congress, disapproval of and counter attack on the British rule led him to demand complete independence as the objective of Indian National Congress. He believed in having a recourse to violence if the need arose for achieving his country's freedom. He was thus a faithful follower of Tilak.

Since the beginning of his political career he was inclined towards and deeply felt attracted to Lokmanya Tilak and considered him as the greatest freedom fighter and flag bearer. His famous slogan, 'self-Rule (swaraj) is our birth right and we shall achieve it' had left a deep impression on Hasrat's mind. Both his prose and poetry reflect his profound praise of and sentimental association with Tilak. In one of his articles, published in *Urdu-i Mualla* in November 1909 he proudly declared himself as the follower of Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh.<sup>2</sup>

The partition of Bengal in 1905 was one of the most significant political events which took place in the beginning of the twentieth century, the majority in India in general and the Muslims of Bengal in particular had welcomed this step of the British government whereas the Hindus, including, the revolutionaries of Bengal, had vehemently opposed it. Maulana Hasrat Mohani at this critical juncture maintained deep patience. It is more than likely, that he shared similar view of his fellow Muslim that this was indeed a measure beneficial to them but as the effect of expressing such a view would have been to weaken his advocating of Hindu-Muslim unity, he deliberately chose to remain silent on this issue. Similarly, on annulment of the partition of Bengal by the king at the Delhi Darbar in December 1911, which was really a rude shock to large number of Muslims and heart-breaking for Nawab Sir Salimullah, the Nawab of Dhaka, (who withdrew himself from the public activities and died shortly afterwards), Hasrat kept silent.

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2 . *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, November, 1909, pp. 12-13.

The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed drastic changes and a new trend in political environment of the Indian subcontinent. The Congress which had so far adopted liberal and loyal attitude towards the British government by demanding constitutional reforms and representation of Indians in civil as well as other govt. services now raised its voice for swaraj. It was after the partition of Bengal that in order to weaken the government and awaken the people to the usefulness of swadeshi manufactured commodities, that the Congress launched a movement known as the swadeshi movement throughout the country. Hasrat Mohani enthusiastically supported this movement and advocated the use of Indian goods in preference to foreign goods. Hasrat worked more energetically than ever to spread the message of the boycott and to win over people particularly Muslims to swadeshi goods. In this connection he went further to get sanction from the religious leaders of both the Hindus and Muslims.

The Kanpur mosque incident was a major setback to the Indians and caused great disturbance and havoc in Kanpur. In spite of this, most of the Muslim leaders and intellectuals had forgiven the British government after the repairing of the mosque but Hasrat never changed his opinion about the foreign rulers. In the session of All India Muslim League in 1913 held in Agra under the presidentship of Sir Rahmatullah Sayani and Agha Khan, presented a resolution for thanking Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy for the reconstruction of the demolished portion of the mosque, most of the Muslims supported this

resolution but Hasrat Mohani strongly opposed it.<sup>3</sup> This episode reflects Hasrat's steadfastness and strong stand against the Britishers.

Hasrat Mohani was not just a poet of high calibre and radical politician but a responsible member of the Muslim community. He was deeply concerned about the educational conditions of Muslims in India. Like Sir Syed he too felt that only education can enable the Indian Muslims to uplift themselves in social, political and economic field. Also being an educated community the Muslims of the country could confront the Britishers in the freedom movement to attain independence. He therefore thought that there was a drastic need of the time to establish a university for the Muslims in India. Thus in 1910, under the active participation of Sir Agha Khan the movement for Muslim University was started. Hasrat took active part in this movement and played an excellent role in it.

When Muslims of India was filled with bitter feeling of hostility towards the Hindus, it was Hasrat who dreamt of Hindu Muslim Unity and persisted in teaching the doctrine of cooperation amongst these communities for the common good for the motherland. Very soon like many other leaders he was interned. Restrictions were placed on his movement, but he refused to accept the legality of these restrictions on the ground that they were passed under an Act (Defence Act) which in his opinion was neither just nor proper. He deliberately disobeyed the orders passed against him, and he was prosecuted and placed on trial. When he was brought before the court, he willingly admitted having broken the conditions imposed upon him under the Defence of

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3 . Nadvi Syed Sulaiman, *Hasrat Ki Siyasi Zindagi*, ed. Niyaz Fatehpuri, *Nigar Hasrat* Number, Karachi, January-February 1952, p. 114.

India Act, and instead of defending himself, he expressed his willingness to go to jail rather resenting his conduct.<sup>4</sup> This incident highlights Hasrat's boldness, simple approach and outrightness. He was a fearless and selfless fighter for Indian freedom. He fully understood the repercussions of an imperialistic regime on the colonies, the injustice inflicted on the native people because of which his favour for freedom enhanced and his anti-British approach grew stronger day by day. Thus he was the best representative of extremist tradition of the Muslim community in the first half of the twentieth century.

The year 1921 represents the highest point of his anti-British policy. He presented the complete independence resolution in the Congress session of the year (1921) in Ahmedabad. Though Mahatma had appeared at it and the resolution was rejected, it showed how eager was he for the independence of the country. It should not be forgotten that his resolution for independence was the first in the history of the Indian nation.

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 popularized the communist ideology over the whole world. The echo of this revolution was heard in India also. Being a follower of Tilak, Hasrat had a revolutionary thinking so it was natural that he felt attracted to this revolution. When communism appeared he also started thinking in favour of it. He composed several couplets related to socialist ideas. It was since 1925 that we find a great change in the political career of Hasrat Mohani. He is clearly seen inclined towards the communist movements in India. The first Indian Communist Conference met at Kanpur on 26<sup>th</sup> December 1925, Mr. Singaravelu was the President and Hasrat was

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4. Syed Sharifuddin Firzada, *Foundation of Pakistan: All India Muslim League Documents: 1906-1947*, vol. I (1906-1924) (Indian Edition), New Delhi, Metropolitan Book Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1982. p. 404.

chairman of the Reception Committee and he described the aims of the party to be the establishment of a soviet Constitution in India after the establishment of swaraj.

Although Maulana Hasrat Mohani was completely engrossed in the national political developments, he always took genuine interest in contemporary Muslim social life and politics of the country. He actively engaged himself in all significant events of our freedom struggle whether of national nature or concerned with the Muslim community. It was because of his deep Indo-Muslim political spirit that he remained somehow associated with the Muslim League since its very inception, but at the same time, he did not favour the theory of Jinnah for the creation of Pakistan. He always held that there was a cultural affinity between Hindu and Muslims and they could live together peacefully. Hence he did not accept the Cabinet-Mission Plan. He wanted only a sort of federation with a strong centre under whose umbrella both way lie amicably with their respective rights. It was during the mid thirties 1936, that he became an active member of the Muslim League which now had become popular amongst general Muslim masses.<sup>5</sup> Here an important point to be noted is that in spite of his love and attachment for the Muslim community, his approach and attitude towards the people and country was a secular approach. He did not hold any religious bias or prejudice against any other community. Thus in spite of being a true Muslim and following all the rules and regulations of Islam in his private life, his religion did not interfere in his public life and dealings with people in general.

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5 . Hasrat Mohani, *Kulliyat-i Hasrat Mohani* (Reprint), Delhi, Nomani Publishing House, 1977, p.

During the struggle for independence, Hasrat's active participation annoyed the Britishers immensely. Thus he was imprisoned several times during the freedom movements. He was inflicted with atrocities and meted out with worst inhuman treatment. He has described the jail authorities and employees behaviour and attitude towards prisoners in his personal diary and other writings which sheds light on the defective, faulty and worthless conditions of the jails under the British Raj. He also pointed out their discrimination between general Indian prisoners and the Christian prisoners. We realize from his narration that different types of irregularities and injustice were conducted by the jail authorities specially in case of food and dress. The *Urdu-i Mualla* testifies that Indian prisoners particularly were deprived of their religious responsibilities.<sup>6</sup>

Hasrat not only play a pivotal role in the freedom movements but also positively contributed his energy and skills for the development of the Indian Constitution after independence. His love for his motherland is evident from the fact that he preferred to stay in India after partition. Most of the League's leaders shifted to the newly acquired Pakistan but Hasrat remained in India. Extracts from his personal diary illustrate his strong stand with regard to this. Consequently, in 1946 Hasrat was elected a member of Legislative Assembly of United Province on the ticket of Muslim League. He also became a member of the Constituent Assembly. He regularly attended all the sessions of the Assembly and actively participated in all its proceedings and his views are reflected in the several speeches he gave in the Assembly. He boldly voiced his opinion on all important issues such as the adoption of the Preamble, the

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6 . See details, *Urdu-i Mualla*, Aligarh, Urdu Press, January, 1910, pp. 11-13.



structure of the constitution, whether it should be unitary or federal and the issue of princely states. His debates in the constitution reveal his high potentials. His brilliance, his capabilities and caliber to deal with all kinds of circumstances and situation is projected in all the efforts he made to accomplish his objective of complete independence.

Looking in retrospect, on the political aspects of Hasrat's life, reviewing the crucial role he played in the general political struggle of his time, a number of striking features emerge. The first is his resolve from his earliest emergence on the political scene that nothing less than complete independence from British rule was the acceptable goal. There was perhaps no other leader so clear and insistent in his demand. Sooner or later almost all leaders of the freedom movement came to adopt this stand, but Hasrat had adopted it at the very outset. It was this paramount aim which determined his attitude towards others in the movement. It was also on account of his revolutionary zeal that in the later period he admired Subhash Chandra Bose, when he formed the Indian National Army in exile in the 1940's. He lived for everyone and anyone who would fight unconditionally for the complete independence of India. It may be concluded in a nutshell that in a half century of active politics Hasrat stands and reveals himself as a man of unshakable principles, dedicated to the cause of his country's freedom struggle. Such a shining star and such an illustrious figure is rarely seen anywhere is rare in the history of India and deserves to be remembered with great honour.

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24 December 1928

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29 March 1924

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27 January 1950

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## **Urdu**

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February 1900

June 1901

January to December 1901

January 1902

January to December 1902

April 1902

May 1902

June 1902

January to December 1903

January to December 1904

January to December 1905

January to December 1908.

*Hamari Zuban*, Aligarh

1<sup>st</sup> March 1958

1<sup>st</sup> May 1965

*Urdu Adab*, New Delhi, Hasrat Number 1985.

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July 1951

September 1951

October 1952

January 1953

June 1953

December 1955

February 1965

August 1981

September 1981

*Burhan*, Delhi

July 1961 to May 1962

September 1962 to January 1963.

*Aligarh Institute Gazette, Aligarh*

16 May 1903

3 June 1908.

*Zamana, Kanpur, December 1908*

*Al-Hilal, Calcutta*

4 August 1912

12 August 1912

25 August 1912

1<sup>st</sup> September 1912

8 September 1912

18 December 1912

8 January 1913

12 February 1913

5 March 1913

2 April 1913

30 April 1913

21 May 1913

28 May 1913

18 September 1913

*Qaumi Aawaz, Lucknow,*

14 May 1951

15 May 1951

21 May 1951

17 June 1951

9 July 1951.

*Urdu Adab*, Aligarh

October to December 1951 (Hasrat Number),

January to March 1952

June 1958

*Nigar*, Karachi

January February 1952, Hasrat Number

*Naqoosh* Lahore

January 1955 (Shakshiyat Number)

*Tahreek*, Delhi

April 1960

*Urdu Digest*, Lahore

June 1964.

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November 1966

# *Appendix-I*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
HOME DEPARTMENT, AUGUST 1908.

Prosecution of the Urdu-i Mu'alla newspaper under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code.

[ No 47.

PROSECUTION OF THE URDU-I-MU'ALLA NEWSPAPER UNDER SECTION 124-A, INDIAN PENAL CODE.

No. 207, dated Naini Tal, the 20th June 1908.

Pro. no. 47.

From—The Honourable Mr. J. W. Rose, I C S, Offg. Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department

With reference to telegram\* no. 1720-Public, dated 13th July 1907, I am directed to report, for the information of the Government of India, that the Lieutenant-Governor has sanctioned the prosecution of Saiyid Fazl-ul-Hassan, editor of a vernacular paper, called 'Urdu-i-Mu'alla', published at Aligarh, for publishing an article in the issue for April 1908, entitled "The educational policy of the English in Egypt." He has been advised and is himself of opinion that the article is seditious and proceedings are being taken against the editor under article 124-A of the Indian Penal Code. An abstract from the article† which has been prepared to appear in the selections from vernacular newspapers for the current week is appended.

The progress of the proceedings will be reported to the Government of India by wire.

*An abstract from an article.*

A correspondent, who signs himself "A Musalman student of Aligarh," contributes the following to the Urdu-i-Mu'alla (Aligarh) for April, received on the 12th June :—

"The English have a strange knack of ruling over foreign races. When they first occupy a country, they win over the hearts of its people and then attempt to prevent them from making efforts to rouse themselves and create discord among the conquered races. No governing power has ever made so many efforts to destroy the national consciousness of its subject races as England. The future progress of these races is checked by imperceptible means, and it cannot be doubted that when the governing power is bent upon anything, it will surely accomplish it. The Musalmans have a great regard for Turkey, but the English, with a few noble exceptions, have always tried to undermine Turkish influence. It is the English who are ever ready to interfere in the affairs of Crete and Macedonia and who have threatened the very existence of the Moslems in Egypt and Turkey. How have they treated Arabi Pasha? Although he has been released from prison in Ceylon, he is spending his last days in a boat on the Nile on a miserable pittance. They promised to evacuate Egypt in 1890, but they have never fulfilled their promise and are ruining it in every way. They had no sooner set their feet on Egyptian soil, than the number of schools and scholars began to decrease, and now the country is at its lowest ebb. A country's state of civilization is gauged by its progress in education, but notwithstanding this Lord Cromer increased the fees in schools and reduced the sum spent on education. But he could not check the popular demand for education and freedom. The Educational Department is entirely manned by English. Persons ignorant of the language of a country cannot understand its educational needs. The English, after living for hundreds of years in India, have not been able to understand Urdu, how can they be expected to understand a difficult language as Arabic?"

21. H.D.



## PROCEEDINGS OF THE

HOME DEPARTMENT, AUGUST 1908.

Proceedings of the Urdu-i Mu'alla newspaper under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code.

Steps are now being made to cripple the educational system of the country. Mr. Dunlop, the Minister of Education, has decided that sciences should be taught in Arabic, as it is wanting in modern scientific terms. But very foolish, no one can believe that the language which was the repository of sciences a few centuries ago, is now wanting in scientific terminology. The system of education is very defective, but it is a hopeful sign that young men are going in large numbers to European countries, and it is hoped that the teaching of this Kamal will have far-reaching effects. May the sun of Islamic renaissance on the banks of the Nile, and illuminate Asia, Europe and Africa.

Referring to this article the editor of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* has said and remarked that as far as he knows it has not been written by any student of the Aligarh College, and that he does not think that there can be any Muslim, no matter where educated, who can criticise the educational policy of the British in Egypt in such a bitter and hostile spirit.

*Urdu-i-Mu'alla*, April 1908.

Pro. no. 48.

Telegram no 162 (Public—Political), dated the 23rd June 1908

From—His Excellency the Viceroy,

To—His Majesty's Secretary of State for India

Government of United Provinces has instituted proceedings under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, against editor of *Urdu-i-Mu'alla* newspaper for publishing an article entitled "The educational policy of the English in Egypt", in its issue for April 1908. An abstract of this article will appear in the selections from Native Papers published in the United Provinces for the week ending 20th June.

No 287, dated Naini Tal, the 24th July 1908

From—S. F. O'Donnell, Esq., I.C.S., Under-Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces.

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

In pursuance of letter no. 20, dated 20th June 1908, I am directed to send you for the information of the Government of India, the article entitled "The educational policy of the English in Egypt" published in the *Urdu-i-Mu'alla* newspaper, and the prosecution of Fazl-ul-Hassan, editor of the *Urdu-i-Mu'alla* newspaper, has been based on this article.

*Abstract of the article entitled "The educational policy in Egypt."*

When Englishmen bring any country under their rule, their first desire is that the inhabitants of that country should become satisfied (Muslims), and come to look upon their ruler with confidence. After this these people (Englishmen) show their hands, i.e., show their real nature. This is used in a bad sense. The first effort of their ruling class (body) is that the ruled nations and countries should not be in a position to know that their condition requires improvement. As far as possible these ruled nations should go on quarrelling and fighting with each other and these sympathisers with human race (i.e., Englishmen) should be

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
HOME DEPARTMENT, AUGUST 1908.**

Prosecution of the *Ordu-i Akh-sa* Newspaper under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code. (No. 49)

fully profit by their (ruled nations) mutual enmity. The efforts made by England to destroy the national existence of the ruled nations can hardly be excelled by any other (country or nation).

They (Englishmen) checked the means of natural progress in such imperceptible ways that no one could become aware of it, but their (Englishmen's) policy had its effect.

No doubt when a ruling race has fixed upon a particular purpose in connection with the future of its subjects that purpose is surely fulfilled some day or other. Next to Turkey the Musalmans have the deepest connection with England—and if among English statesmen were born men with ideas like those of the late Mr. Bartlett, then the connections between the two nations would have probably

I think this to be very objectionable and become friendly—but it is a pity that at present we, the Musalmans, have suffered the greatest loss at the hands of Englishmen.

Englishmen are the cause of the ruin of Turkey. In matters relating to Crete and Macedonia the English are the foremost arbitrators. They (Englishmen) would appear zealous in annihilating the *mulki uqud* (the existence of a nation as far as it relates to its country—it may mean natural existence—but as these words have been formed in a new manner, it is difficult to say what the writer really meant) of the Musalmans of Egypt and India. Did Arabi Pasha, who was the supporter of Egyptian independence and new light and who was the leader of new ideas, deserve a banishment from his country? Although he (Arabi Pasha) has come from Ceylon to Egypt still he is a captive in a boat and passes the remaining part of his life in much grief and disappointment in the Nile. He is not allowed to come to Cairo. The arrangements for the poor creature's (Arabi's) livelihood are very insufficient. The English had promised to stay in Egypt till 1900 and for this they had taken oath on England's honour. But they go neither to-day nor to-morrow—rather they are pressing their feet deeper (i.e., are strengthening their stay). They are not however content with this (i.e., their stay)—rather they wish to destroy and ruin the natural progress and religious improvement of Egypt. So that from the day the English have stepped in Egypt education has decreased (in Egypt) although there has been an increase of 30 lacs in population and the income has gone up higher (six times) than it was before. We affix as under a list showing the losses in education caused by the British occupation of Egypt.

The number of students up to 1872\* (prior to British occupation) was 19,418.

This is probably a misprint for 1882.

In 1889 (i.e., seven years after the British occupation) this number stood at 15,713

and now, in 1905, it is 12,203. Formerly there were 63 schools, while now there are 60 only.

From the above figures the good faith of the English and the useful effects (both "good faith" and "useful effects" have been ironically used) of their occupation is clear and by the way Cromer's (the word Lord or any other word of respect has not been used by the writer of the article) pledge (*viz.*, that he has spent the best part of his life in improving the condition of the Fallahin of Egypt) is verified. (The above has been said very sarcastically.) It is apparent that an estimate of any nation's civilization and refinement is made by the state of education. Education is the only means by which a nation's and a country's state of degradation and disgrace is cast aside. But in Egypt in spite of British rule, education is spreading on. Although Cromer got the idea of increasing expenditure on education decreased, yet he could not check the general desire for education and the increasing flood of freedom.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
HOME DEPARTMENT, AUGUST 1908.

No. 49.] Prosecution of the Urdu *Mu'allim* newspaper under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code.

In former times, i.e., before the advent of the British, the expenditure of the Egyptian educational department was £130,000. But the English having in view the good of the subjects (this is used ironically) reduced this expenditure which is now £ 23,000, and this too includes the fees which are about half of the above-mentioned amount. Ignorant and inefficient men are enrolled in the educational department. The arrangements for the administrative posts in the educational department are in the hands of the English. It is worth consideration that

*N.B.*—This portion of the text could not be translated literally. The words "*thak sam-jhenge*" have been used in a contemptuous sense, and I think means "they would never understand."

the English can never understand the needs of Egypt, and how those (the English) ignorant of the language of the country can solve educational problems and local difficulties.

The English who pass years absurdly or foolishly in India can't speak even

*NOTE.*—The words "*thak merna*" have been used. I am afraid the translation does not fully convey the force of the vernacular words— which, I think, have been used here in a very bad sense.

Urdu correctly. How it can be expected from such men that their short stay in Egypt will make them perfect in Arabic—the nice points of which can't be acquired (excluding those whose mother-tongue

is Arabic) by any one else, however learned he may be.

Now seeing Egypt making serious efforts for acquiring knowledge (education and freedom) the hearts of these sympathisers with humanity (i.e., Englishmen)

Used ironically.

became uneasy (or painful) and in order to check education they began to have more recourse to oppression and compulsion than to artifices and deceptions. So that it has now been proposed in Egypt not to teach arts and sciences, as heretofore, in the Arabic language. Hitherto Arabic language on account of its elasticity had taken in all the sciences of Europe in itself, and the Western effects had refreshed its old spirit. The majority of the sciences were taught in the country in this language. It is evident that no country can have its literary stores full unless the country is capable of grasping them and unless foreign stores are collected therein. Look at the history of the English language itself. If it had no effects of French and Latin on it, it would have been like some other barbarous languages. Seeing the progress of the Arabic language and a new life in it, the well-wishers (used ironically) of Egypt like Cromer could not remain silent. So that Mr. Dunlop, the Minister of Education, is insisting on the fact that art and sciences be not taught in Arabic language. He has written in his report that for want of technical words and on account of the non-elasticity of the Arabic language, the Western sciences can't be properly taught in that language. This allegation of

A great Arabic scholar and philosopher. Here the writer has termed Mr. Dunlop a *Jarullah Zamakh Shari*, but he has used the simile very ironically.

this \* *Jarullah Zamakh Shari* of Egypt, i.e., Mr. Dunlop is so futile that it requires no refutation because any one who is in the least touch with Arabic language and who

has read the opinions of German philosophers about it can fully understand the authenticity (used ironically) of Mr. Dunlop's claim.

Alas! Had it been possible that the Egyptians were taught in European languages! but there are not only insufficient arrangements for education—rather hindrances are being put in the principles of education. The courses of studies in schools are quite useless and absurd, and no science is taught completely. There are independent schools of France and America in Egypt, but the diplomas given by these schools are not accepted. It is, however, satisfactory that the desire for education and the freedom of ideas (thought) is daily on the increase in Egypt and the young Egyptians go in large number to the schools in Europe for acquir-

PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
HOME DEPARTMENT, AUGUST 1908

Prosecution of the *Urdu-i-Mu'alla* newspaper under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code.

(50-51).

ing education. We trust that the lessons of nationality given by the late Mustafa Kamil (may God's blessings be on him) to the Egyptians will awaken new hopes and enthusiasm in their breasts—and the Sun of Islamic progress will rise from the valley of the Nile and brighten up the whole of Africa, Asia and Europe. Amin and again Amin!

WRITTEN BY "A MUSALMAN STUDENT" FROM ALIGARH.

Telegram no. 298, dated the 4th August 1908.

Pro. no. 50

From—The Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

My no. 287, dated 24th July. Fazl-ul-Hassan, editor of *Urdu-i-Mu'alla*, published at Aligarh, has been sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and rupees five hundred fine, or in default of payment six months' further imprisonment.

Telegram no. 246 (Political), dated the 6th August 1908.

Pro. no. 51.

From—His Excellency the Viceroy,

To—His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

In continuation of my telegram, dated 23rd June last. Editor of *Urdu-i-Mu'alla* newspaper has been sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 500 fine, or in default six months' further imprisonment.

Encl.—J.D.

211 H. D.

## *Appendix-II*

## مشاہدات زندان

جس شخص کو یہ قید خانے کی صورت نہ دیکھی ہو وہ تو ہمارے حالات سے کہیں بے آگاہ نہ ہو ہی نہیں سکتا لیکن ہمارے یہ دعویٰ ہو کر جو لوگ جیل کی کسی طرح پرور نہیں کیا کرتے ہیں وہ ہی کا حق وہاں کے اندرونی حالات سے واقف نہیں ہو سکتے کس لئے کہ ملازمت چاہیے کی جھٹیاں لڑکیاں اور نگاریاں۔ غزلے کے زندان کی حد سے زائد اشتہار حالت ہمارا ان جیل کے حکم اور بے انصافیاں ان سب کی اہلی کیفیت قیدیوں کے سوا اور کسی کو معلوم نہیں ہو سکتی۔

یادش بخیر لالہ لالہ چند فلک نے آخر سے یہی بڑا کورس کچھ حالات، اندازات اور کے سنائے تھے لیکن جیل کی حقیقت راقم کے ذہن نشین صرف اس وقت ہوئی جب ہم جوبہ شہ کو دفعتاً نعلت شدین داخل حوالا ہو نا پڑا۔

دعا دہی کو دنیا سے قطع فلین کی برابر نہیں تو اس سے کچھ ہی کم جھٹا ہوتا ہے۔ اسی وقت کو اس سے موت کا سبب حاصل ہو سکتا ہے۔ بطرح سے کہ اہل انسان کو تمام دنیاوی جگہوں سے بہرہ کرنا نا فائدا ایک ایسے عالم میں ہو چکا ہے جس کا کسی کو علم نہ ہو۔ مثلاً سے مقدار سہاڑ میں گر تھار ہو رہا تھا پکی تمام شافل اور کار و بار سے دفعتاً قطع ہو کر ایک دوست ہی اسی دنیا میں پورے جاتا ہے لہذا کی آب و جو طریق ہوتا ہے۔

20-12-2002



# اردو علمی

2002

- 9 DEC 1372

علی گڑھ

جلد

بابت ماہ جنوری ۱۹۵۴ء

پتہ: پروفیسر، مدرسہ اسلامیہ، علی گڑھ

فہرست مضامین

۱۔ شجہ حبیب دینار  
۲۔ شہید ابراہیم - شہر فوٹ۱۔ طرح و طرح  
۲۔ شہید ابراہیم - شہر فوٹتقریباً ۱۰ صفحات پر مشتمل ہے۔  
۱۔ شہید ابراہیم - شہر فوٹ  
۲۔ شہید ابراہیم - شہر فوٹ۱۔ طرح و طرح  
۲۔ شہید ابراہیم - شہر فوٹ

نیمہ - اردو سے علمی و تحقیقی مواد کی

## اردو علمی واقع علی گڑھ میں چھپا

۱۹۵۴ء

۱۔ اردو سے علمی و تحقیقی مواد کی

۱۔ اردو سے علمی و تحقیقی مواد کی

طرز رفتار و گفتار غریب و غیر معمولی نظر آتی ہے مرق صرف اس قدر سمجھ لیجئے کہ موت  
کے بعد عزا و اقران سے دائمی جدائی ہو جاتی ہے لیکن یہاں آئندہ کے لئے امید  
باقی رہنے کے علاوہ اعتناء و مقدمات تک کسی کسی ان سے دور کی ملاقات ہی ہو جاسکتی ہے۔  
گرفتاری کے وقت راقم حروف کی شہر خاں لڑکی فیمہ صدورہ علیہا تھی اور اتفاق سے مکان  
والدہ رحمہ اور ایک خادمہ کے سوا اور کوئی وجود نہ تھا لیکن غرض اسے اس تازک وقت میں پر پائے  
سیادت و تائید یہاں جہت ایک عرصہ کا استقلال کا اظہار ہوتا ہوا تھا کہ راقم کو ہی معلوم  
کر چکے جیسے انہوں نے کسی دن بذریعہ بہرہ مند میل ایک ایسا بہت افسانہ سنا جسے  
دیکھ کر حجاب کا رب و ازان زندانِ تحریر کے راقم کا دل بفضلا امر حق کی پیروی کے باعث ہل  
ہری قوی تھا لیکن انکی اس تحریر کے کہ "میں جو افسانہ پڑھی ہے اسے مردانہ وار برداشت کرو۔  
میرا یا گھر کا مطلق خیال ہو گا۔ خبردار اسے کسی قسم کی کج فہمی کا اظہار نہ ہو بلکہ یہ افسانہ  
یہاں صاحب کو انہوں نے ہمارے دیکھ کر ملایا تھا جس کے ہمراہ وہ میل میں مجھے ملے ہی آئیں اور جب  
تک مقدمہ چلتا رہا ہر شے آجائیں اور آخر تک انکی جرات و ہمت میں ذقہ برابر ہی فرق نہیں  
آیا۔ شاہد محمد اللہ خیر مقدمہ تک اخبار دیکھنے کی اجازت میری پیشانی گزرا سے لگتی تھی اسلئے  
جن جن اخباروں کی کسنت میری پسند کا انہیں علم تھا وہ روزانہ پیچید یا کرتی تھیں۔ دوسری  
روز کے بعد ستر ملک کی گرفتاری کا حال معلوم ہوا۔ جس کے انوکس میں راقم کو اپنی  
تمام حیثیتیں فراموش ہو گئیں۔ ستر ملک کو انیس لاکھ روپے کو پڑھ کر کہانتہ روح تازہ اور بہت  
بلند ہوتی تھی اور محکو تو ایسا معلوم ہوتا تھا کہ اس ایڈیسیں کی سماعت کے بعد اگرچہ انصاف  
سے کام لیا تو ستر ملک ضرور سیری ہو جائیگے لیکن جسٹس دادور کے فیصلے نے ان  
ساری امیدوں کا خون کر دیا۔ اسی کبیدگی خاطر کے دوران میں ایک رُباعی ذہن میں آئی

ہی وہ نذر ناظرین ہے۔  
کما خاک اُنہیں داد گری کا ہوشور  
طاقت ہے فرنگیوں کی بچا ستور  
انصاف کے دشمنوں کا داد اور بوقت  
"پرس جس زند نام دنگی کا خور"  
(باقی آئندہ)

ربیع الثانی ۱۴۵۱ھ

# ارووی معلیٰ

علی گٹن

## نسب بہت ماہ فروری ۱۹۱۰ء

مترجمہ نذیر افضل حسن سرت موہانی۔ جی ملے  
نورست مضامین

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| ۱۔ ذوق۔ مولوی ازہر سرت موہانی       | ۵۔ دیوان توشیح از حضرت ثاقب اکبر آبادی       |
| ۲۔ شاد بہت زندان از حضرت مولانی     | ۶۔ تنقید کتب در سہ ماہی                      |
| ۳۔ اتحاد بیہوش از چودہری محمد عثمان | ۷۔ غزلیات سرت موہانی و رشتہ زبانت            |
| ۴۔ صاحب قلقلہ از ردنی۔ فحوت کلکی    | ۸۔ غزلیات حضرت بقیر۔ مہاراجا من اتری         |
| ۵۔ سنیا ساوہ پائیکس از ادیٹر        | ۹۔ غائب اکبر آبادی و غزلیات دی و کوثر شہرانی |

ضمیمہ اردنی سہ ماہی جلیہ دیوان اولی و دیوان ثانی

اروہوی واقع علی گٹن میں چھپا

چھپانہ مہینہ  
۱۴۵۱ھ

چھپانہ سال ۱۴۵۱ھ

ل مشا بہت زندان معلیٰ  
ہالات میں داخل ہوئے پیر ذوق زندان کو سنے زمانہ انیسواں لفظ ہوا الیہ  
کی حالت زار کا انداز آتا ہو کہ ادنی ملازمان جیل باغیر حصہ لیں۔ کی مرض سے اُن کی تندرست  
کوئی وقت قیام نہیں رکھتے۔ بہت لوگ انہیں مار کر دہ گناہ پوسٹیں کا شکار اور پلے ہی سے ظلم  
ہوتے ہیں ان کے ساتھ سنگدلی کا پتہ ملتا ہے اور ہر روز دیکھ کر دہ گناہ پوسٹیں کا شکار اور پلے ہی سے ظلم  
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سے انکار کا نتیجہ زور و کوب کی ذلت کے سوا اور کچھ نہیں ہو سکتا۔ جن لوگوں پر بلا ثبوت کافی محض ایسے مقدمے قائم تھے کہ انہیں سنسزائہ بھی ہو گی تو کم از کم حوالات میں رہ کر ان کی آبرو و خاک میں الجھا بیگی۔

ایسے لوگوں کے مقدمات کو اہل پولیس ملوثی کرانے رہتے ہیں یہاں تک کہ وہ حوالات کی زندگی سے تنگ آجائے اور بری ہونے پر بھی ایک طرح سے کافی سنسزائہ برداشت کر بیٹھے ہیں۔ ہمے ایک نوجوان والائی نے قسم بیان کیا کہ پولیس نے مجھے ازراہ عدالت ڈیڑھ مہینے سے حوالات میں بند کر رکھا تھا اور دوران مقدمہ میں علانیہ مجھے سنا سنا کر کہا کرتے تھے کہ ”بچا اب چوٹ بھی جاؤ گے تو کیا تیسے سنسزائہ زیادہ تو مجھے حوالات میں تکلیف پہنچتا رہا۔“ یکساں طور پر قبائلی مصیبت ہونے کی وجہ سے تمام حوالات میں باہم ایک قسم کی بھڑدی پیدا ہو جاتی تھی۔ انیس سے اکثر ایک دوسرے سے اپنی داستان الم بیان کر کے طالب بھڑدی و تسکین چھوٹے ہیں بلکہ حروف کا زناہ حوالات اسی قسم کے افسانوں کی سماعت میں صرف ہوا

اس بات کو جیلوں کے خصوصیات میں سے سمجھنا چاہیے کہ جیلوں کی اصلیت قید یا حوالات میں پوشیدہ نہیں کی جاسکتی اور مقدمات تقریباً کل واقعات ظاہر ہو جاتے ہیں۔ کیونکہ جیل میں داخل ہونے یا قید ہو جانے کے بعد پھر کوئی مجرم اپنی رائے کو دوسرے قیدیوں یا حوالات میں پھیلنے کی ضرورت نہیں سمجھتا ہے عادی مجرموں کو سوابقی اور سب قیدیوں کو عمومی ہی بیان کرتے یا یا اب اگر ان لوگوں کے بیان صحیح ہوں اور اظہارِ فکر درست ہو تو نیک کوئی سبب نہیں معلوم ہوتا، تو ہم کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ پولیس کی شہادتیں وجہ تیز بعض باختیار لوگوں کی بے انصافی اور ناخدا ترسی اس حد کو پہنچ چکی ہیں کہ اگر لوگوں کی اصلی کیفیت معلوم ہو تو انکی آنکھیں جیت سے کھلی کی کھلی رہ جائیں۔ ہم ان تمام واقعات کی صحت کو باضابطہ طور پر ثابت نہیں کر سکتے ورنہ انکے اظہار سے باز رہتے۔

ان تمام واقعات کو سن سن کر اتم حروف کو اپنی گرفتاری میں ہی مصلحت ایزدی کا ایک عجیب غریب کوشش نظر آتا تھا کہ اسی کی بدولت اہل پولیس بعض حکام کو انکو اہلی رنگ کوپ میں پھنسا کر اور انکی تمام پوشیدہ کارروائیوں کو معلوم کرنا موقع حاصل ہوا۔

تقریباً چالیس روز کی گفتگو اور یکا طرفہ ملت کے بعد آخر کار مقتدی کا وہی فیصلہ ہوا جو اس وقت کے مقتدات میں جیشہ برکات کو دینی مراستہ سے قید و بند کا آقا و اسطر یہ رہا کہ کچھری سے جیل واپس جوتختہ ہی ایک لنگوٹ بنا لیا اور ایک کراٹھی پہنے

(3)

رجسٹرڈ نمبر ۲۵۱

# اردو علمی

علی گڑھ

منہ ب- بابت ماہ مارچ ۱۹۱۱ء

مرتبہ تہذیب الحسن و حسنیت موہانی جی۔

نہرت مضامین

۱- غلام بلہانی ازاد پٹر	۲- شہزاد زنگان از دست موہانی	۳- بیاض دست موہانی	۴- سرای خورشند ازاد پٹر
۵- تنقید رسالہ و کتاب	۶- غزلیات مرتضیٰ حسن زنگان	۷- غزلیات آسی سکندر پوری	۸- مشق لکھنوی۔ مہریشی بیلی
			۹- بیعت علی پوری۔ بیدل بہار پوری
			۱۰- ریل موہانی

ضمیمہ اردو علمی انتخاب دولان و بعد بیضا و آخر گلہ پوری

اردو پریمی و قلع علی گڑھ چشما

۱- ۲- ۳- ۴- ۵- ۶- ۷- ۸- ۹- ۱۰- ۱۱- ۱۲- ۱۳- ۱۴- ۱۵- ۱۶- ۱۷- ۱۸- ۱۹- ۲۰- ۲۱- ۲۲- ۲۳- ۲۴- ۲۵- ۲۶- ۲۷- ۲۸- ۲۹- ۳۰- ۳۱- ۳۲- ۳۳- ۳۴- ۳۵- ۳۶- ۳۷- ۳۸- ۳۹- ۴۰- ۴۱- ۴۲- ۴۳- ۴۴- ۴۵- ۴۶- ۴۷- ۴۸- ۴۹- ۵۰- ۵۱- ۵۲- ۵۳- ۵۴- ۵۵- ۵۶- ۵۷- ۵۸- ۵۹- ۶۰- ۶۱- ۶۲- ۶۳- ۶۴- ۶۵- ۶۶- ۶۷- ۶۸- ۶۹- ۷۰- ۷۱- ۷۲- ۷۳- ۷۴- ۷۵- ۷۶- ۷۷- ۷۸- ۷۹- ۸۰- ۸۱- ۸۲- ۸۳- ۸۴- ۸۵- ۸۶- ۸۷- ۸۸- ۸۹- ۹۰- ۹۱- ۹۲- ۹۳- ۹۴- ۹۵- ۹۶- ۹۷- ۹۸- ۹۹- ۱۰۰-

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کے لیے، ایک ٹکڑا ٹاٹ اور ایک کٹبل بچانے اور پہنے کے واسطے اور ایک قح  
 آہنی بڑا ایک چوٹا دیگر جلد مزدوریات کو رفع کرنے کی غرض سے مرحمت ہوا۔  
 ان چند چیزوں کے سوا قیدیوں کو اور کوئی شے پاس رکھنے کی اجازت نہیں ہوتی  
 ابتدا میں سامان بود و ماند کی اس تکلیل سے کسی قدر تکلیف مزدور محسوس ہوئی  
 لیکن بہت جلد طبیعت سے انہیں کے استعمال پر قانع ہو کر ایک عجیب غریب  
 سبق حاصل کیا کہ اگر ان ہو او ہوس کو ترنگ کرے تو زندگی کی ضرورتیں اس قدر  
 کم ہیں اور وہ بھی اتنی آسانی کے ساتھ فراہم ہو سکتی ہیں کہ بظاہر ان کے لیے انسان  
 کو جبر و ستم یا کمزور و غریب کے وسائل اختیار کرنے اور بعض اوقات اغیار کی بندگی  
 و غلامی تک کے قبول کرنے پر آمادہ ہو جاتا ایک حیرت انگیز معاملہ نظر آتا ہے۔  
 زندانی معاشرت کی یہ فقیرانہ نشان ہر طرح سے راقم حروف کو مناسب حال تھی البتہ  
 ابتدا میں بحالت غم نہ ہونے کی۔ فرغینہ نماز کے ادا کرنے میں تکلیف ہوتا تھا لیکن روز  
 رفتہ اپنی مجبوری اور بے بسی کے احساس نے اسکا بھی خوگر بنا دیا جیل کی سخت سزا  
 "جیل" سے پہلے ہی روز سابقہ بڑا اور راقم نے بمصداق "بے سبب اور اولاد آدم ہر جہ  
 آید بگزر دوس جبری خدمت کو بے شرم جہم قبول کیا۔  
 عام طور پر لوگوں کا خیال تھا کہ یہ مشقت چند روزہ ثابت ہوگی اور کسی سنٹرل جیل میں بند ہونے  
 پر کوئی کہنے پڑھنے کا کام ٹھانیٹھا چنانچہ جب ۱۲ اگست کو دفعتاً بتا دیا کہ جیل معلوم ہوئی تو لوگوں کو اس  
 گمان کو اس بنا پر اور بھی تقویت حاصل ہوئی کہ اس جیل میں گورنمنٹ برانچ پریل وریل پریس کی جو  
 سے عام طور پر قیدیوں کے لکھنے پڑھنے کا کام ٹھانیٹھا تھا کہ قیدیوں کو تعلیم یافتہ قیدیوں کا وہاں یہ سب جانا اسی غرض سے ہوتا تھا کہ ان سے  
 کہنے پڑھنے کی کوئی خدمت لیجا بیگی لیکن راقم کو اہل فرنگ کی شرافت اور عالی حوصلگی سے  
 کسی رعایت کی امید نہ تھی چنانچہ بعد میں ثابت ہوا کہ میرا خیال بالکل صحیح تھا اور اہل آباد جیل میں  
 صرف یہی نہیں ہوا کہ مجھے سے کار تحریر راقم کو بیکتری کی خدمت سپرد ہوئی بلکہ قیدی کی تو بہت ساری  
 مدت روزانہ ایک منٹا سپینے سے سروکار رکھا حالانکہ عام قیدیوں سے بھی عموماً چل ایک  
 یا دو ماہ سے زیادہ نہیں لیوا لٹی جاتی۔



تیسری اور آخر کا دھیری عدم موجودگی ہی میں انہوں نے انتقال فرمایا۔ انا اللہ و  
 انا الیہ راجعون۔ جیل میں محکوم اس واقعہ کی خبر تک نہیں ہوئی۔ انا اللہ و انا الیہ راجعون۔  
 جیل میں جو جہاں جائے ایسے ادا کیا دے آگے جتنی جگہشن پر اثر ہوتا ہے  
 لوگوں کو قتل کیونکر کر سکتے تھے؟ ترس ستر جیل میں داخل ہوئے۔ علی گڑھ میں  
 کے کہنے اکثر پائے تھے اور کہا گیا کہ یہاں کے قہر میں جیل کے استوت کا کاتے  
 کے پتھر بھی کیفیت یہی کہ ان سے زیادہ کیفیت قلیظا اور بدوار کیے دیکھا تصور  
 تھی نہیں میں نہیں سمجھتا۔ لیکن ہر درویش کھانوں درویشوں میں پہلے پینا پینے  
 گرم رشت کی نگاہ مدد میں نہیں ہوا پہلے پہلے کہنے کے اوقات کو چور کر باقی رشتہ  
 میں کی ضرورت رہتی ہے۔ چنانچہ علی گڑھ جیل کے پتھر پہلے قہر معائنہ میں لگا کر  
 پہلے کی اعانت دیدی تھی لیکن انا اللہ و انا الیہ راجعون نے اس طرح کو انا الیہ راجعون  
 ہو انا اللہ و انا الیہ راجعون کے قائم کی ہے دست و پا کی کو ایک درجہ اور بڑا دیا۔ انا اللہ و انا الیہ راجعون  
 بالائے خدا ہے دگر۔

توڑی دیر کے بعد میر صاحب نال ہوئے اور میرے ساتھ کے تمام اخباروں  
 اور کھانوں کو کھانا سنائے دیا ان کا غلط اپنے سامنے ہو کر خاکستر کر دیا اور میر  
 میر صاحب کا کہ صاف فرمایا۔

میر صاحب کی غضب آلود اور قہر باندھا ہوں سے دیکھ کر ہر ادا کو اگر یہاں تک  
 سے زہر کے قہر باندھا کر کھانا لے جیتے جاؤ گے اور وہاں مار کھا کر مرنے جاؤ گے  
 یہ مطلب پر غصہ کیا کا لادوٹی کے سوا اور اسباب ہی کی ہو سکتا تھا۔ جیلر صاحب نے غائب  
 میر صاحب کو دیکھنے کی نیت سے کی ہو کر یہ کہہ نہیں ان سے جھگڑ کر نئی نقصان نہیں  
 جاتا۔ لیکن یہاں تک کہ شہر میں کر تیریوں کی نسبت جیتا کی یہ شہر میں باطل بھی  
 کے تکر رہا میں تو کھلی دیکھ کر قہر میں جیلر صاحب کو یہ کہہ کر کوئی قیدی جیل میں کر  
 دیا اس قتل کی انہیں ایک کہی کے ربط سے زیادہ بھی جائے کی کہیں کہیں  
 کی قیدی دیکھ کر کھانا نہیں کامیاب ہو جائے تو یہ واقعہ اس قدر اہم تھا کہ جیلر

اغزل نے خصوصیت کے ساتھ پراثر کیا۔ اس قدر کہ انہوں نے اسے زبانی یاد  
 کر لیا اور دورانی قدر میں بکالت نہ تھا بار بار اسے دہرایا اور ہر بار ناگفتہ بایا گیا  
 خیریت از در میجاؤ گشتا سے طلسم  
 اگر از عہد غم عشق دہانے طلسم  
 بگھڑی، زویدیکہ وزانے طلسم  
 زادہ و حرم دوست خدا ایم طلسم  
 چوں غمت مانتوں یا غمت مروتاں طلسم  
 برور میر ستا خیر نشینی حاتفا

توڑنے میں چند جوانوں کو کوشا میر کا حال معلوم ہو گیا تھا کہ چونکہ شریک  
 قتل سے علی و انہوں نے پلیٹ فارم کے آخری حصے کی ریت جمع ہو کر بڑی طوفان  
 کے ساتھ باجیم پڑ گیا۔

کلیوں میں ایک صاحب نے اگر دریافت کیا کہ کیا آپ اردو سے معلومی کے اڈیر کرتے  
 سوائی برس اور جواب اختیارات میں یا کر کچھ دہر دہر داتا باتیں کرتے رہے انہیں ہی  
 انا اللہ و انا الیہ راجعون نے اسے میں اسے کہا بار بار ہوا۔ والد دوم کی نسبت محکوم  
 بتا کہ وہ اسلی کی غرض سے انا اللہ و انا الیہ راجعون میں جیل میں ملنے کی درخواست کر دی  
 تھی والد دوم کے جائے قیام سے محکوم آگاہی تھی لیکن معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ صاحب  
 مشورہ نے انہیں کو شش تا شش کے پہلے اس کے بعد میر صاحب کی درخواست کی اور کہیں  
 بعد کے بعد معلوم ہوا کہ والد دوم نے جیل سے کی درخواست کو مسترد نہیں کیا اور وہ ناگفتہ  
 کر ستر شدت میں نے ان کی درخواست کو مسترد کر دیا خصوصیت سے کہ اس کے قتل  
 و اس کے کہ رو دانی ہو ہی تھی اس کا کچھ ہی حال معلوم نہ ہو سکا۔

والد دوم کو میر صاحب نے اس طرح رشتہ ریت ہوئے کا بے اختیار قتل تھا چنانچہ جیلر  
 و اس نے پراثر اعوان کی زبانی معلوم ہوا کہ اس واقعے کے بعد ان کی حالت بھی بھیج

چیتا ایک شیر کا کپڑے سے نکل جاتا۔

حاضر کی دفتر کی رحمت سے غلات ملل ہوئے یہ ضروری ٹپاں کٹوائے اور فزون  
رجح کر سکرانے کی غرض سے روزگرو شستہ سے اس وقت نکلے آئے ہوئے  
قید لوگوں کی نگاہ میں بیٹھا پڑا سوامی شواشد سے اول اول اسی نظام پر ملاقات  
جو کی گئی وہ بھی ایک جدید قیدی کی حیثیت سے کئے پھروں میں وہاں موجود ہو۔

نگوڑہ بالا ضروری کارروائیوں کے بعد ہم (یعنی راقم حروف و سوامی بی) سب کو  
مقررہ تمام معائنہ ثانی پرائی تحفیت پیچھے لگے جاں لے دس بارہ روز قیام کی حیثیت  
بھرتی کر کو سوامی ہی بھلا دیر اندازی کی ہو چکی ہے۔

واقع ہو کہ الہ آباد سنٹرل جیلز قمار خان جسے ایس سی جھار دیواری کے اندر لکھن  
علیہ علیہ سبزیں اول تنی تحفہ ہمیں زیادہ تر مسن فوجان یا وہ قیدی رکھے جاتے  
ہیں جو گورنمنٹ پانچ برس میں کام کرتے ہیں۔ وہ پرائی تحفہ ہمیں عارضی طور سے  
لے ہوئے قیدی یا بیجو ضرورہ پست لوگوں کے ساتھ ٹوٹوئیں قید تہائی بسر کر فکے  
لے تمام جیل سے ہر جگہ قیدی آتے جاتے رہتے ہیں پرائی اور تنی تحفہ میں  
ہم کو ملنے کی وضع یہ دکھائی کہ ایک ایک دروید کو ٹپاں بھی ہیں اور مدھیان میں توڑی ہوئی  
کھجور کے ٹکڑے سے خالی سب سے بڑے بارکوں کے درمیان ایک لکھا ہوا اطلاع ہو  
ہے جیل کی زبان میں ان کو کہتے ہیں سہلان قید ہونے کے بدلے دھونے پانڈے

دیکھو یہاں انتظام ہوتا ہے۔

باقی رہو دو سالے ایک نیا اطلاع ہمیں زیادہ ترھ قیت یا زیادہ تر تیس کے سنا  
یا فتنہ قیدی رکھے جاتے ہیں دو سالہ پرائی اطلاع میں زیادہ تر کبارہ قیدی رہتے  
ہیں۔ ان دونوں اطلاع میں بارکوں میں کوٹھڑیاں نہیں ہیں بلکہ ہر بارک میں دو دو سیلوں  
بلایر نام یا فتنہ ٹپاں کے اوٹے قید ہوں کے قید کے بدلے جاتے کئے ہیں جس کا  
نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ رات کو جو چاہیے کھا کر قید کی ایک بارک میں بند ہوتے ہیں وہ آہستہ  
کو فرست کے وقت باہر چیت بہن کر سکے ہیں۔ (دیکھو آنچہ)









چنی گزشتہ سنا یا کرتے تھے کہ بڑے شیخی انہیں بیٹھو روڈا کو ثابت کر کے پانچ سال کے لئے قید کر دیا۔ وہ اسم غازی آدھے ایک اور نو جوان عبداللہ نے بھی ابتدا ہی سے سیرے ساتھ بڑی بہادری سے شرکت کا پٹا کیا کہ جب کسی موقع ملتا تھا وہ میری دلہری کی کوشش کیا کرتے تھے۔ علی الاطلاق دیکھتے کہ توڑے دی دنوں میں رمضان المبارک کی آمد آدھ سے سہاں پیدا ہوتی میں ایک نئی روح پیدا ہو گئی۔ اسلامی اخوت کا حب زبردست اثر میرے اس موقع پر زندانِ زندگ میں محسوس کیا اُنکا نقش سیر دل پر ہمیشہ موجود رہا۔ ہماری بارگاہ میں جتنے مسلمان قیدی تھے تقریباً ان سب نے روزہ رکھنے اور بچہ و طفلان کے وقت یکجا ہو کر کھانا کھانے کا انتظام کر لیا تھا جس سے بے کسر و ساقی کی حالت میں یہ سلام کی شانِ سادات و اخوت سادگی کے ایک نمونہ، عربی عالم میں نمودار ہوتی تھی جیسا انشراح کے سختی کے ڈاکر کے دل نے ہی قبول کیا چنانچہ ایک روز وہ مجھے بلا تقریب غائب ہو کر لوٹے کہ ”بہائی صاحب۔ میری حالت بے سختی کا خون آپ لپیٹ دل سے نکال دیتے۔“ مجھے ہولناکیاں سے وہ میں کہہ کر دیکھا بلکہ آپ کہیں چیز کی ضرورت یا جو تکلیف ہو مجھے بے تکلف کہہ دیجئے۔“

ڈاکر کے اس غیر معمولی برتاؤ نے لوگوں کو حیرت میں ڈال دیا تھا تاکہ بعض لوگ ڈاکر کو تنہا باٹ بھٹتے لیکن حقیقت یہ ہے کہ انہوں نے جو کہہ کر کہا تھا ہے دل سے کہنا تھا جیسا ثبوت یہ ہے کہ اسکے بعد جب تک وہ بارگاہ میں پہلے روزانہ شام کو اپنے کارخانے سے اظہار و سحر کے لیے مختلف قسم کی چیزیں لے کر لاتے تھے اور سب کے ساتھ کھاتے تھے لیکن اُنہی دس دن کے بعد وہ دمہ پڑا یا رہا جو کہ کراستپا کے پہلے گئے اور پھر دیر میں سے ہندوستان میں حکومت برطانیہ کی بنیاد سالہ جیل کا خوشی کے موقع پر ہمارے گئے۔ جن لوگوں کی شفقت، محبت، غلامی تھی ان کو ہونٹوں میں سب سے زیادہ دشواری پیش آئی کہ وہ کدہ چلے جہاں اپنی پانچ بیٹیاں کے لوازمات میں داخل ہے۔ علاوہ بریں بے کھائے پیئے۔ میں سہ ماہیوں کو چھوڑ دیا

سیرم کی خدمت میں خوشی خوشی اپنے سکن میں پھر داخل ہو گئے پنجاب اور صوبہ کا تہجدہ کا کوئی مشرل جیل ایسا نہیں ہے جیسا حال انہیں ذاتی طور پر نہ معلوم ہو۔ جب یہ اپنے کارخانے بیان کرتے تھے تو تمام سامعین بہت کوشش جوڑتے تھے۔ جیل میں آگ جالانے یا جھڑپنے کی سخت ممانعت ہے لیکن ملک کے مختلف جگہ جیلدار جیتے تھے اور ملازمان جیل میں تک ہو کر چشم پوشی کرتے تھے۔ جیل کے لوگوں کے سامنے بھی بڑا کمزور ملی ہو۔ سیرم ہال آگئے جہاں پر بھی جیلدار تھے ان کے عوض ناٹ انہیں بیٹھے کو ملا تھا۔ لیکن آئے بھی انہوں نے جیل دیا تھا اس لئے تلوٹ کے سوا اور کوئی کچھ ان کے جسم پر نہ تھا۔ ناٹ کا بستر تو ڈروڑاٹوں سے بنی ہوئی ڈال تھا اور ان تمام بچوں کے بعد بھی اسد جو بیباک تھے کو جب کسی جیلدار کسی مدد کے اندر کا اُنکی جانب گزرتا تھا تو اس سے تلوٹ اور کڑی فرمائش غریبہ کرتے تھے اور کہیں کہیں پابندی مانتے تھے۔ رات کو کے حال پر انکی فاس و غرضیت تھی۔ جس جیلدار جیل کے کل مساللات کو اس غرض اسلوبی کے ساتھ بھرا دیا تھا کہ اتنی مساللات سالہ سال کے تجربے سے بھی بغیر حاصل ہوتی ہان بٹتے تو زیادہ تھے لیکن بڑھان کے کہیں مسالمت آمد سو گز سے کم نہ کہہ سکتے تھے جس کے سامنے یہ ہیں کہ مقررہ ۳۰ گز کے عینہ جال یا پانچ سو گز یا دہ کام کرانے کے پہلے میں آمد یا کسی نشان روزانہ سیر کرتے تھے اور جو بیسی نشانوں کی ایک دن کے صاحبے ہر ماہ دس دن یا بارہ روزوں کے سخت نہیں تھے۔

سب بیان کہاں سے کہاں جا بیٹھا۔ اہل جیل برقدار ڈاکر کا مذکور تھا کہ انہیں جردت کی سخت نگرانی کا حکم تھا اور عجب نہیں کہ درپردہ غیر معمولی سختی کرتے کامی نہ کہ کیا گیا ہو۔ راتوں تمام مساللات سے آگاہ تھا لیکن ان سے ملکر بے پروا نہ کہ قصور کے دو کسے ہی عالم میں رہا کرتا تھا۔ چنانچہ ایک چھتے کے قریب اچھے مکان سے گزرتا کہ نہ میں کسی سے بولا نہ ڈاکر مجھے بات کرتے کی نوبت آئی یا بلند نام پیلو ان کا بستر پرے بستر سے باہر تھل ہوتا تھا وہ البتہ کبھی شب کو

سے سوال میں جمع ہو کر غار کا پڑھ لیں چنانچہ اُس روز زمینی پُرانی تکلیفیت نئی تکلیف اور  
نئے آفات طے سے سب لوگ آئے تھے لیکن ہمارے داخلے کے وارڈز نے اپنی معمولی  
تحتی سے کام لیکر لوگوں کو داخلے سے باہر جانکی اجازت بندی مجبوراً اہم ۶۰-۷۰  
روبوٹک وکلندہ نما زبر صفا پڑی۔ غار کے بعد لوگوں کے اصرار سے لاکر وہ دہشتے مختصر سا  
مذبح کی مکمل تعمیر تمام مقررہ مسلمانوں کی دعوتاً اور فقیہ صومالی نو بیناں خدیو صفا مقرر کیا کے  
روئے مذاذاری کی تھیں۔

خارجی عید کے بعد سالانہ جنگی کے تہ کر وہیں صحت ہوا۔ شاہ آدرود بہت کام از پڑے تھا کہ عہد تہ قیدیوں کی قید اس صحت کیجا پائے اس میں تخفیف ہو۔ لیکن غالباً درسیان کو گوں کی دراندازی کا انوکھنا گنتیہ ہو ہوا کہ صحت تو کسی کی ہی قید ہونی البتہ فی سال ایک ماہ کے حسابے رہائی کل قیدیوں کے کنگھوں پر چڑادی گئی مگر طرفہ نشا یہ ہوا کہ انہیں ماہ کے بعد روزانہ دیکھ سہیں گوگوں کی جلیبیاں خارج ہونا شروع ہوئیں جس سے شاہ ہی اعلان کی حد درجہ کی ہوئی حقیقت حال سے ناواقف تھے ہی بگناہ بارش کو عطائے برابرا کہتے تھے کہ دے کر کسی چیز کا واپس لینا کلفت گوگوں کا شیرہ ہی بارش ہو کتا طریقہ میں ہو۔ اس رعایت کے پوچھنے کی قیدیوں کی محرومی کا قصہ ہم پہلے ہی دیکھ کر چکے ہیں ہم کو ہی ایک روز مع مکمل اپنے رہبر و طلب کر کے سرٹھڑٹ صاحبے ارشاد فرمایا کہ کچھ جلیبیاں کھا لیں تو خوشی اختیار کی۔ نیٹیا میں دن تو گویا نیم روز تھا لہذا گریں لیکن اہل وطن کی اہل محبت و شہرہ شہرہ کی کاغذی نہایت کے لئے یا گار گار گیا۔ عہد گردان ادو داندہ سا گذشتہ

کھام نہیں ہے۔ لیکن اگر انسان ہمارے باوجود ان تمام معنیوں کے روزہ ترک کیا تو رحمت الہی سے بھی ہم کو گمراہ و منحرف نہیں کیا کیونکہ لوگ یہ دیکھ کر تعجب کرتے ہیں کہ وہ ان میں کس کس میں ہیں، بائانی بیٹے والے ایک بار بھی بائانی ہے بغیر اسی نعمت و رحمت کس طرح سے کہہ سکتے ہیں۔

الغرض ایک ایک دن کر کے ماہ رمضان بنی ختم ہونے کو آیا اور آخری جمعہ کو غصہ خیز  
کے بغیر منظر حسین صائب فوق کی تحریک پر ناز ادا کر دیا بندہ بست گیا سارا صوف  
نے بڑا بانی خطبہ اور اسی وقت سے لے ہوئے چند الوداعی اشعار پڑھ کر ناز کیا  
دو ہی چار روز کے بعد عید الفطر کی تقریب پیش آئی لوگوں کی زبان فی معلوم ہو کر  
الآبا وکسنتر مل جیل میں عید کی تعطیل کا دستور نکلتا لیکن اتفاق سے گنگا اودھ  
آج بھائی کا اعلان بابت معافی فیہ مجازان بتقریب جشن پچاس سال حکومت برطانیہ  
اسی روز حکام ہیل کو بلا جسے عید کی خوشی کو دو بالا کر کے علاوہ تعطیل کو ہی لازمی کر دیا۔  
عید پراسید کی خوشگوار اور فری تاشیر کا سبب چیلناؤں میں نظر آتا ہے اسی  
مثال غالباً کسی ماہ اور نہ کیگی۔ جہاں بایزبان محام بھی کی خفیہ خبر پانوا جلیت  
میں تمام جیل میں شہور ہو کر شیر یوں کے جہول کو سردار امید سے منور کر دی جو اور  
پانی رہائی کے خیال سے کہ ان کو توری دیر کے لیے اپنے صہاب کو فراموش کر دیتا۔  
غاصی آبا واصل میرٹھ کے عبداللہ کا ذکر پہلے لکھا چکا اس ایک وقت وہ جیل میں تھے  
حال یہ تھا کہ اور عافیت کی سلیقہ بردار کو کے ہمارا سیرری ایسی عظمت کی جگہ  
تت العزیز من اسان دوزخ کا۔ پچانغہ دیر کے کھلے پینے کے بہتروں کی صفائی کے  
دشکر بارک سے ہار نکال اور پھر اندر لجاٹا۔ پچانغہ دیر کے کھلے پینے کے بہتروں کی صفائی کے  
دشکر بارک سے ہار نکال اور پھر اندر لجاٹا۔ پچانغہ دیر کے کھلے پینے کے بہتروں کی صفائی کے  
دشکر بارک سے ہار نکال اور پھر اندر لجاٹا۔ پچانغہ دیر کے کھلے پینے کے بہتروں کی صفائی کے

عید کے دن تو حضورؐ کی دیر کے لئے تمام سلام فقید ہو گا کہ اجازت ملے گی تو جی کر رہا ہوں



نہ ہی کر کہ عاظمیٰ میں روزانہ غلہ پینے کے بعد بکیتوں کے جانب پشت مگر زمین پر لیٹا ہوا  
 کھڑا ہوتا اور آٹے کا جھاڑا اور بٹی میں برنا وغیرہ لینے سا ہوتی پر جو رو یا کرتا ہوتا۔ بچہ سر ہا  
 ہونے پر میں نے ہی دیکھا تو معلوم ہوا کہ میرا ساتھی گڑا کر رہتا ہے اگر اگلے پاس یا میرے پاس  
 کچھ ہے دفعتاً کو دینے کے لئے ہوتے تو سدا دفع دفع ہوتا لیکن چونکہ ہم دونوں  
 نادار رہتے اسلئے پیشی ہوئی اور کچا غلہ کہا جانے کے الزام میں تین دن رہائی خصیہ ہو گئی  
 میری منڈی صاحب کی ٹسکر اڑے سے یہ صاف ظاہر ہوتا تھا کہ انہیں میری نسبت فکر کہا تھا  
 گمان نہیں ہو کہین اصول جیل کے مطابق کسی ماتحت کے پیش کر کے برسرِ اٹا دینا لازمی  
 بنا دینا اسکی شکلی ہوتی۔ میرے متعلق پیشی کا یہ دوسرا واقعہ تھا جلاوا تھا اس سے پہلے ہی ۹  
 دھڑکتے۔ کلیاں عموماً اسقدر وزن ہوتی ہیں کہ ایک شخص کو لٹکے اور پر کا پاٹ لٹکا  
 بھی شکل ہوتا ہو اسلئے دو شخص ایک چکی پر آسنے سے لڑے ہو کر پیشہ ہوتے ہیں اور  
 اگر بارہ بیٹے جائیں تو چھ چھ بیٹے ہوتے ہیں چھ بیٹے کہا جاتا ہے کہ میں ہا ہا ہا  
 شہر طرہ ہے کہ دونوں بیٹے ولے برابر رو لگا میں۔ میری نسبت وارڈ کو یہ کہا کہ  
 ہوا کہ اسلئے بھی نہ بیٹے بلکہ جب دھڑکتے رہتے تو ان سے دیا کہ کرتے پر لٹکے  
 معلوم کیا کہ میں نے پہلے ہی دفعتاً پانچ کام وقت میرے پہلے ہی حکم دیا ہوتا ہے است  
 یقین نہ آیا اور برقعہ از سے ایسی باتیں کہیں جیسے اسلئے اپنی بھوکے سلطان یہ نتیجہ نکالا کہ  
 میری نسبت وارڈ کا مشتاق یہ ہو کہ اسکی پیشی ہو ولے چنانچہ تیسرے دن اسلئے جیسے  
 صبحے خراب کی دی اور میرے جوڑیدار کو حکم دیا کہ تم ڈبیلی دیدینا نہیں ہم پیشی پر  
 نہ بھیجئے۔ نتیجہ اسکا یہ ہوا کہ دس میر غلہ باقی رہ گیا۔ قاعدے کے مطابق ہم دونوں کی  
 پیشی ہونا چاہیے تھی لیکن حسبِ قرار داد باقی صورت میری پیشی ہوئی اور وہ دس  
 لئے سات کو تنگ پائی ڈالنے کی سزا تجویز ہوئی میں مانتا تھا کہ سر منڈی سے سب  
 حال کھدوں لیکن برقعہ از کو پیشی آتا کہ زرد کو ب پر آمادہ اگر میں نے خاموشی  
 اختیار کی اور معاملے کو خدا کے سپرد کیا۔ فقط (موتی آئینہ)





در فتور اوجھا تو کس کی موجودگی سے نواح دہانت کی صورت پیدا ہوئی تھی۔ قید پر سب سے سب  
موتیوں کی پوری قدر کی مہاشک کہ قیدی نہیں دانتے بھی فتور ہی دہانتے ہیں۔ موتی کو بالست  
طاق رکھ دیا۔ قیدیوں کے دور کردہ گئے تھے جو باری باری سے بیلوں کی طرح شبنم کو  
گھاٹتے تھے ہر گروہ اپنے وقت فرصت کو رشتی رشتی مذاق یا لگ رانگی میں مصروف تھا  
ہا بے گروہ میں چلنے بھانسی کا ایک میرانی ٹونو نام تھا۔ لوگوں کے اصرار سے اس نے ارد  
ہندی کی کئی چیزیں خوب کابل۔ راقم حروت کی طبیعت کو چھوڑ کر جتنی سے ایک فطری اس  
کی اس بے غوغو کی ٹھیک سنجی نے دلبر فاقہ کا اثر کیا۔ اس گمانے کی ناظر اس حسن انفاق  
سے اور بھی زیادہ ہوئی کہ ہندی چیز غوث پاک محبوب جان کی حضرت سید عبداللہ رحمہ اللہ  
رحمۃ اللہ علیہ کی شان میں کئی جن کی خلائی برائے غیر کو ہزاروں نازیں طوف تر کہہ اس شہری  
کے آخر میں مخلص راقم کے عزیز پیوگ مولوی سید محمد اسحق فطرت موہانی کا بھلاؤ

ٹھہری ہے :-

سنسار بھارو نام ہے مللہ کے دور کا قیقا  
نیر کی گل ترن مالہ دن میں کست دیا دیا  
کست جاے بیجا ہری تری سگری ہوئی تری کی مکی  
گرمیوں کا لہو اٹا لہو اٹے سے سر سے دھو کر کا لہا  
میں کا صیلا پاک رو متھہ صا سے سوری تانا  
ایک بچہ فطرت کا سر تری چھوٹے  
جلی غانے میں پانی کا کام عوام وقت غرق سے نہ بچ نہ پھوٹے  
کے آنے تک کا وقت باہم قیدیوں کی بات چیت یا کبھی بھی الماودن کی زندہ تیر کے سننے میں ہم  
پرتا تھا راقم نے جو کہیں اس لالہ باب ہندی ایک کو فور سے نہ سنا تھا۔ اس لیے اس کی خوشی  
سے نا آشنا نہ محض تھا۔ لیکن حقیقت حال یہ کہ ہندی زبان میں اس سے بہتر کوئی کشت  
نظم اس وقت موجود نہیں ہے۔ اس نظم کی خوبی اور عوام کی نظروں میں اس کی پسندیدگی کا اس  
سے زیادہ اور کیا ثبوت ہو گا کہ اس وقت ہاے صوبے میں ہزاروں آدمی ایسے ہونگے  
جنہیں یہ افسانہ از سر باد ہی۔ ایک تہی کی کے منڈل ہل میں دس بارہ قیدی جنہیں دوسلمان  
بھی تھے۔ اس داستان کے حلقہ موجود تھے۔ چلنے کا پھور کے ٹھاکر باسند پر سنگداز مسلح  
انہوں کے پتھر سے تلسی رام کی آگ کو ہم لوگ برفانہ تر سے شوق اور اتما درجی کی توجہ سے سا کر دیتے۔







اہل عام و اہل عربوں کی شہادت سوائے جن سے کر کے ان کے انصاف کی فکر کیوں نہیں کی اس کا اسما  
 کی اصل دلیل ہے۔ دایودار نائب میر سے کسی قسم کی شکایت نہ کرنا اہل فکر و فضل کے لیے نہایت  
 قابل توجہ بات ہے۔ دایودار نائب میر سے جوئی میں ایک مذکورہ نام پر دستخط  
 کی ایک کاپی میں وہ لکھ رہے ہیں کہ: "میر صاحب نے میرے ایک خط پر جواب دیا ہے کہ میرے  
 پاس کوئی خط نہیں تھا۔" دایودار نائب میر نے اس بات کو اصل تو کسی کی رسد کی نہیں بلکہ  
 اس کے "مذکورہ کرنے والے" کے ہوش و حواس ابتدائی ہی میں غائب ہو جا تھا جس میں اس پر کوئی  
 اگر کسی نے ہی مہبط طرک کے پھر عرض کیا تو میر ٹنٹ صاحب بہادر اس کا مطلب انگریزی  
 میں نا تب میر سے دریافت کرتے ہیں جو اس قیدی کی شکایت کیلئے کسی نہ کسی اور وجوہوں کے  
 ساتھ اس شکل میں پیش کرنا پڑا کہ اگر اس غریب کو لینے کے لیے جانے نہیں سنا اور آقا د  
 کے ساتھ جانے نہ ضرور کیا کہ میر سے ہاتھ کاٹا اتر ا ہوا ہے۔ اس لیے مجاہد اس کا کام دیا جائے  
 تاہم میر نے یہ کیفیت زبان اس بیان پر اپنی ہا تب سے انکار دیا کہ میر سے حال  
 میں یہ شخص بہادر نہ رہا ہے نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ میری فاسے سے اس کی نسبت تبدیل ہوئی اس  
 ابتدا ایک ماہ کے لیے پڑا چلا اس کے بیرون میں اور ازالہ کی گئی تھی چوری قطع الامداد  
 کے بغیر کی ایک انکلی شکایت میں رہیں کسی طرح سے کٹ گئی۔ اس کی جستجی نہ میر  
 نے بلکہ بات چوری کر کے کام سے جان بچانے کے لیے ایسا ہاتھ خود زخمی کر لیا ہے۔ نتیجہ  
 ہوا کہ ایک سبب میر کی بیڑوں کے علاوہ تین فیمنے کے لیے چکی ان کے نام بکدوی کی گئی  
 ہوا کہ ایک کات ہاتھ سے چکی پڑے تھے اور نائب میر کی جان کو دہستے تھے۔ طرح نہ میر  
 کی "تین بیڑوں" و خود دینا حال میں ملوث سے اگر گریز تھی تو میں عرض کر سکتا۔ میں کوئی اور  
 چاہا کہ چوری میں شکوک نہ کرنا کہ اس کی پر محکم کیا جانا ہے۔ جس سے ایک بار نکالت ناما افسانہ  
 سے بیڑے کچھ بات انگریزی میں کوئی چاہی ہو گی کہ ایک ہندوستانی وارڈز اس کے اکتفا  
 سے میر کو دے دے۔ تاہم چارھادشی اخبار کی "شکایت کرنے والی کی پریشانیوں کا خلاصہ یہ ہے  
 کہ میر کو لے کر گئے کے بعد نائب میر پادار نائب میر کے لیے اس کا دشمن ہو چکا ہے اس  
 کے ساتھ کہ میر نے یہ بھی دعویٰ کیا ہے کہ میر نے اس کا دشمن ہو چکا ہے اس کے ساتھ کہ میر نے یہ بھی

[illegible]





[illegible]



لے بہر فرشتہ سر بہر دست بخیر غیب نو بہر مزاج کے شخص تھے جھک کر قید کی بدستیں بابا کے نام سے پاک کر دی گئیں۔ یہ سب سدا بہر بخیر، دھکا پہرے بہر سنا سے خدمت و بندہ ہوا کے اس لئے آپ کے ہوا۔ دینی کے متعلق اکثر قید ہوں کی رہائی سننے میں آئے تھے۔ سخت گیری اور بندہ خونی ان کی ضربہ نسل ملتی جس سے قیدی تو قیدی ہی تھے لیکن کے نام آرام ازاد ملازم ہی ہر وقت ترساکھ تھے لیکن ایک خاص وصف ان میں ایسا تھا جس کے بعد وہ ایک کو عیاں یا تھا وہ قید رہ کر قیدیوں کو نشان دہا کرتے تھے۔ عکاس نے یہ سن کر ماضی مان سے ظاہر ہو کر تھی غالباً کسی دوسرے بہر بدست سے موقوف ہو گئی جس کی بدولت اکثر سات سات سال کے قیدی پر پانچ پانچ سال تک مجاہدوں نے یہی کم مہیا کاٹ کر رہا ہو گئے۔ اگر آبادی کی شرائط اور ان کی نسبت کا جیل کی محفوں کے باوجود دست پر دست کی بعض انتظامی قیدیوں کی تشریف کرنا بیدار ازاد تھا کہ شقاوت کا اہ ظاہر ہی جہاں ہی تھے کہ انہی ظاہر الہ آباد میں داخل جیل میں ہوتا اور کسی دوسری جگہ میں ہونا جگہ معمولی غوث بہر کی کہ اس جیل میں قیدیوں کے پرستے مونس رہا میں ہی جوں سے پاک رہتے ہیں۔ دس ناخانیہ عام طور پر زندان اور جوں لازم ملازم سمجھے جاتے ہیں۔ ملازمین جیل کی اندر کوب اور سختی جو زیادہ تر قیدیوں سے حصول رہائی و نفع سے ہوتی ہوئی کسی بھی شخصیت الہ آباد جیل میں سر پرستوں کے خوف سے بہت کم آتیں اور عیاں قید میں سختی کر دینے کا حال بنے پہلے ہی رنج کر دیا کہ قیدی کی تکفیل میں سے جسے پُری تکفیل اس وقت بھی کو بھنا چاہئے جو از کجا جب جرائم کے لازمی نتیجہ کی صورت میں عیاں بہر پکارتا، قیدی کے عارض حال پر کسی چونکہ منہایت از روی اس تکفیل سے آزاد تھا اس لئے ظاہر ہی محفوں کے برداشت کر دینے میں جھکو کھڑا ہوا، دفعت محسوس میں اس کی اور باہر سے پکارتا، مسلم ہو اگر کو ایک سال تک مجھے کسی غور تک کا ضرر پیش نہ تھا جہاں سے اس میں اپنے وطن کو واپس آ رہا ہوں۔ وطن چھو چکا ہے اپنے دوسروں اور عزیزوں سے ملنے کی خواہش محسوس دہی اپنے جہیز دوسروں سے بھا ہونے کا سہ قدر محسوس ہی ضرر تھا کہ ان میں سے چند سے بھا ہوا یا کسی سب سے پھر کسی ملاقات ہوئے کی کوئی امید تھی۔ میرا یہ اندیشہ تو خبر ہوا کی کوئی خوشی سے مستغرب ہو گیا تھا۔ لیکن ان کو کتنا ڈان بھانگوسری جہاں ہی نہایت

مجھے طلبہ کے بغیر حساب کر کے ۳۰ روٹالی سہ ماہی تاریخ بابائی تحریر کی جس سے اضطرار کی پوری پوری نصیحت ہوئی۔ "ماہم حروف کو ہنگامات دین کی تعلیمات کے ساتھ ہر طور اس سب سے آگے بدولت زندان کو بھیجی ہو قیدی قوت اور روحانی آزادی اور اطمینان میرا رہا اور جہاں جو باطنی فیوض حاصل ہوں، الفاظ کے ذریعے سے ان کی حقیقت صحیح طور پر بیان ہو سکتی ہو، ان کے ذکر کا یہ عمل ہو۔ اس لئے ان سے قطع غلطی مناسب ہے۔ البتہ اعوز اند قید کا ایک واقعہ ایسا ہے جس کے اظہار میں کوئی برج میں معلوم ہوتا ہو کہ وہ دلی کو کس غریب اہل دینی ملنا کی دینی تالیفوں میں ہوتا ہو کہ شہد میں یہ تالیفیں اہل دینی کی تالیفوں سے ملتی ہیں واقعہ ہر ۳ برس اتفاق سے میں نے ایک روز سوسے وقت حساب کیا تو معلوم ہوا کہ میری روٹالی کا دن پہلے ہی تاریخ کو تو ہوا ہے ہوسے وقت لیکن کا آخری روز ہوگا۔ جھکو چکا کہ غلطی ہو گئی حضرت شیخ العالم سے سلامت اندازہ ان فیوض پانچ ہونے کا اکثر اتفاق ہو چکا تھا۔ اس لئے بے اختیار دل میں یہ خواہش پیدا ہوئی کہ اگر روٹالی کی تاریخ دو ایک روز قبل ہی تو ہوتی تو شرکت دوس کا موقع مل سکتا تھا۔ لیکن تاریخ روٹالی کی شرکت پہنچ ہو جانے کے بعد دوبارہ تبدیل ہوئے کہ اس وقت میرے دل میں وہم و گمان ہی تھا۔ پھر بھی صحیح رائے پر سب سے پہلی بات جو مجھ کو معلوم ہوئی وہ یہ تھی کہ بہر فرشتہ صاحب نے مجھے جو معمولی طور پر فقر کی بجائے نئی تکفیل میں طلب کیا ہے۔ نئی تکفیل میں پوچھ کر شہد صاحب سے معلوم ہوا کہ صاحب بامداد میرے اس استقبال اور "نیک چہرہ" سے بہت خوش ہیں اور اس لئے اپنے اقتباس سے غالباً وقت غور سے پھر قبل مجھے پکار دیں گے۔ اس پر خود غافل ہونے کے سننے سے مجھ کو یہی بہت سرت ہوئی اور فیوض ہو گیا کہ شہد صاحب کی ازاد رہا غور ہوئی ہوگی۔ بہر فرشتہ صاحب نے جھکو کہتے ہی حکم دیا کہ ہم ان کو پہنچا دے، ان کی رہائی پائی جائے جس سے چاہئے ہیں۔ چنانچہ اس حکم کی تعمیل کی گئی اور میں پہنچا تو غور سے پھر وہ روز پہنچے رہا پھر شہد صاحب کو پکار کر ان کے روانہ ہوا۔ انداز دس دن قیام کر کے کہ بعد اطمینان قائم ہوئی وہاں پہنچا ہوا۔ مگر یہ کہ اس واسطے کو لوگ حسن اتفاق پر معمول کریں۔ لیکن ماہم کے نزدیک یہ سب کچھ شیخ العالم حضرت محمد دم کے بعد جہاں حق روا داری، متعاشا شہد کے بابا طعن قہر ف اور توبہ کا نتیجہ ہو۔ الہ آباد: انجیل





منشی نول بہاری سے بندہ کو دام کا پکا چھٹا مسطوط ہو کر آتا تھا۔ جس کے خطا ہو کر نہنے کی ہم میں بہت  
 نہیں تھیں۔ کہندے تھے کہ آبا کے گیش اہمیر روزانہ صبح کو جن وغیرہ کا کرے سے شکر تو  
 راغما روئے ان کو اکثر بھون اور بھندی گہست بفا بہت مرغوب تھے خصوصاً وہ جو سری کریں

کی تعریف میں ہوتے تھے۔ مثلاً

دیکھ ری مائی تیرے دلور اک بال بھول آبا  
 لے بھکھا نکھیں تندرائی موشن مثال بھرا با  
 نا پاجوں میں دولت دنیا نا پاجوں میں دلیا  
 لے موہن نکھیں تندرائی اکل اورٹ چپا با  
 جیسہ درشن سونو حق بن برکسیں  
 زنگ جھوس تھکے مرگ چھالائے رنگ لپٹا با  
 بھکھا لپٹے لوٹ جا با بھیر با لکھیا ڈرا با  
 اپنے گویاں کا دس دس در میں پیٹا پٹا  
 پانچیر پیکر ماں کر کے سنگی نا بھکھا با  
 جستہ دا گو د کھلا با۔



نوعی نہایت عالی کی تھی۔ اس کے ذریعہ وہ اپنے تمام اوصاف اور کمالات کو اپنے شاگردوں کو سکھاتا تھا۔ اس کے شاگردوں میں سے ایک شخص تھا جس کا نام تھا "ابو جعفر"۔ اس شخص نے اپنے استاد سے بہت سی باتیں سیکھیں اور ان کو اپنے شاگردوں کو سکھاتا رہا۔

۱۵  
 بی بی بنت مہدی کا شمار زمانہ جلیلہ میں ہوتا ہے۔ اس شخص نے بہت سی باتیں سیکھیں اور ان کو اپنے شاگردوں کو سکھاتا رہا۔ اس کے شاگردوں میں سے ایک شخص تھا جس کا نام تھا "ابو جعفر"۔ اس شخص نے اپنے استاد سے بہت سی باتیں سیکھیں اور ان کو اپنے شاگردوں کو سکھاتا رہا۔

۱۶  
 اس کے شاگردوں میں سے ایک شخص تھا جس کا نام تھا "ابو جعفر"۔ اس شخص نے اپنے استاد سے بہت سی باتیں سیکھیں اور ان کو اپنے شاگردوں کو سکھاتا رہا۔ اس کے شاگردوں میں سے ایک شخص تھا جس کا نام تھا "ابو جعفر"۔ اس شخص نے اپنے استاد سے بہت سی باتیں سیکھیں اور ان کو اپنے شاگردوں کو سکھاتا رہا۔

## مشائات زندانی

مجرموں کو قید کرنے سے قانون کا موثر ہی نشانہ نہیں ملتا۔  
 اوست دیوانے بلکہ ایک فرض یہ بھی ہوتی ہے کہ اگر عدالت کے  
 میں نمایاں کھتی ٹھہر پڑے ہو۔ اور دوران میں یہ بین ہو کر  
 سیکر ہو سکتی ہے ایک کارآمد سبب بن جائیں۔  
 اگر حکام زندان اس سوال کو پیش نظر نہ کریں تو جیل خانہ کے  
 خود کو دروغ ہو جائیں۔ اگر انوکھ کر بندستان میں زندہ رہیں  
 ان جبری کارخانوں سے ذرہ برابر بھی بہتر بن جائیں گے۔  
 متحرک کر دیا ہو کہ اپنے پابند مجبور مزدوروں (قیدیوں) کے  
 میں کین ان پر کم سے کم خرچ کریں۔ اس کا نتیجہ یہ پائے گی کہ  
 وہ ایک نیکو شکر بن کر اپنے باپ میں اگر عودہ اور صحت مند  
 رہیں گے تو ان کو سب سے زیادہ آرام مل سکتا ہے۔  
 جیسے تو اچھے ہیں ان کی تو ایک ایک موت کی امید ہی ان کے دل میں  
 پائی ہے لیکن جو قاصد کے لئے مہینہ صلیب جیل ان کے لئے ایک  
 بونی کس و چٹا ایک دلی لیا جاتا ہے کہ ان میں سے  
 کو نہیں لیتی اور وہ بھی دماغی و فزیکل کے لحاظ سے  
 تیار ہے کہ ان کو ایک نیکو شکر بن کر اپنے باپ میں  
 رہیں گے۔  
 اگر ان کا حال اچھا ہے تو ان کو ایک نیکو شکر بن کر اپنے باپ میں  
 رہیں گے۔

## اردو می

(۱) **بابت ماہ جنوری**

غلام مولانا قاضی دہلوی اناؤ شہر  
 بابت زندان (اردو میسج)  
 نہ صحت ممانی  
 جیل خانہ کتب  
 فیروز آبادی  
 اردو میسج

[illegible][illegible]

## *Appendix-III*

In the court of the Sessions Judge of Jhansi

Present:-

H. J. Bell, Esqr., I.C.S., Sessions Judge,

The 1st of July 1916.

Criminal appeal no.35 of 1916.

Fazl-ul-Hasan, Hasrat Mohani ..... Convict- appellant

Versus

King-Emperor..... Respondent.

Appeal from the judgment of H. G. Talton, Esqr., I.C.S., District Magistrate of Jhansi dated the 23rd of May 1916, sentencing the convict appellant to 8 months' simple imprisonment for each of the three offences under rule 5 of the Defence of India (consolidation) rules. The sentences are to run consecutively.

Pleaders.

For the Crown :- The Government pleader.

For the Appellant :- B. Raj Narayan, B.A., LL.B.,

J u d g m e n t.

The appellant Fazl-ul-Hasan has been convicted by the District Magistrate of Jhansi in a trial held at Lalitpur of having committed three offences under rule 5 of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915.

He appeals.

His first ground of appeal is that the Magistrate erred in refusing him time to move the High Court for transfer of the case. It appears that the appellant was first brought before the Magistrate for trial on the 22nd of May 1916, and that before the trial began he asked for a postponement to move the High Court and at the conclusion of the Magistrate's order it appears that he said that his object was to move the High Court for a transfer of the case. The Magistrate refused to grant an adjournment for the purpose on the ground that no reason had been made out for granting a postponement. The Magistrate proceeded with the trial and passed judgment and

sentence

आमदार सहाय  
कोर्ट में  
कोर्ट में



sentence on the following day.

Since the rule under which appellant was tried was made under section 2 of a Criminal Law, the Defence of India (Criminal Law Amendment) Act, IV of 1915, the case is a criminal case and section 526(8) of the Code of Criminal Procedure applies. The language of this clause is imperative, and a postponement if asked for must be granted, subject to the limitations of the clause, one of which is that the application the intention of making which is stated as the basis of the request for adjournment is "an application under this section." It is contended by the learned Government Pleader that the accused did not notify to the court his intention of making an "application under this section" because it does not appear that the accused informed the magistrate of the character of the application he intended to make i.e. did not state on what grounds he proposed to apply to the High Court for transfer, did not state that he intended to apply on any of the grounds stated in (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) of the section. The point is highly technical, but to reject the argument would be to admit that any person merely by saying that he asked for an adjournment to move the High Court for a transfer must be given an adjournment at once and without question and without having to state his reasons and even without having any ground at all on which he could be entitled to an order for transfer. The inconvenience of this is pointed out in Johar-uddin Sarkar versus Emperor, 4.L.R., 31 Cal., 719. In fairness to the appellant I note the reasons now stated by his learned pleader. They are three:-

- (1) That he wished to contend that the Lalitpur court had no jurisdiction and that only the Aligarh court had jurisdiction. The plea is quite absurd.
- (2) That he did not expect a fair trial at Jhansi, (by which I suppose Lalitpur is meant). The learned vakil in dealing with this part of the case said that the accused was "under a misapprehension" that he would not have a fair trial in Jhansi. Consequently

there

काशीराष्ट्र राष्ठीय : निवेष्टागार  
भारत सं.

Archive

there is nothing in this point.

- (3) That if the case were transferred he could obtain legal advice. For it does not appear that he could not obtain legal advice at Lalitpur, provided he were given time.

It has been held also in the case cited above as well as in *In re Kaly Mudaly*, I.L.R., 35 Mad., 701 that the consequence of a refusal to act under clause (8) of section 526 does not necessarily vitiate the subsequent proceedings. If that principle is to be applied to the case it is clear that the subsequent proceedings are not vitiated because it does not appear that accused had any grounds for an application to the High Court to transfer the case. And I can see no reason for not applying the principle.

As I have said before, the appellant first appeared before the Magistrate on the 2nd and the evidence was taken the same day and the case was decided next day. It was only on the 19th that the District Magistrate, acting on a police report, had given his consent to the prosecution and decided to try the case himself. Before the proceedings began the accused asked time to obtain legal advice. Strictly speaking he was not entitled to an adjournment though in view of the shortness of the notice it would have been fair to grant him one. In cross-examining one witness accused shewed that he failed to secure legal advice because he could not pay the fee demanded and he has said the same again in this court. In this court he was given a longer date for hearing on the ground that he desired to retain outside legal assistance but this he failed to do. He was represented efficiently by a gentleman of the local bar. It does not appear that appellant was in the least degree prejudiced by the summary procedure of the Magistrate and although I think more indulgence might well have been shewn I am unable to hold that any reason for interference is shewn.

It is next contended that the Magistrate had no jurisdiction as there is no proper consent under rule 30. What the Magistrate has written is the following:-

"Under rule (30) Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules,

1915, I take cognizance of the offences disclosed by the police report. Fazl-ul-Hasan will be tried in my court at Lalitpur on Monday May 22nd at 8 a.m."

There is no defect of jurisdiction.

On the merits there is no case at all, as the admissions of the appellant made to the Magistrate taken with the statement of S. I. Farid-ud-din. His real ground of defence stated to the Magistrate and repeated in this court is that he disobeyed the orders on what he describes as conscientious grounds.

In the court below accused desired to summon certain witnesses. The request was rightly refused, for it is clear that what the accused has said in this court as to the points on which the witnesses were expected to speak are totally irrelevant to the question whether accused has committed offences in Lalitpur for which he should be punished.

On the question of sentence the plea of the accused is that he could not help offending. His conscience forbade him to obey the orders and therefore he applied to be detained in jail so that it would be put out of his power to disobey. The authorities would not accede to his request. Thus they are to blame and not he for the consequences. I see in this no ground for mitigation of sentence. It is clear that the disobedience was deliberate and was continued after the man had been given an opportunity of compliance and after his earlier contumacy at Lalitpur had been condoned. The sentences are perhaps severe but conduct of this kind requires severe measures.

The appeal is dismissed.

sd/ H. J. Dell,

Sessions Judge,

1-7-1916.

सुप्रीम कोर्ट दिल्ली

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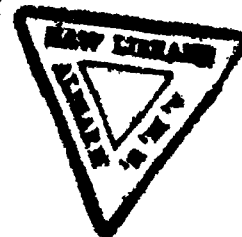
## *Appendix-IV*

## BOMBAY SECTION

THE LOCAL PROTESTION

**WITH**

**CITATION : A. I. R. 1922 BOMBAY**



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sued in a representative capacity. But it does not follow that such indication should appear necessarily in the plaint. The plaint is only one part of the pleadings and proceedings in a suit. Here we have had a direct issue on the question, and the judgment will record a finding regarding the plaintiff's representation of the family.

Therefore, there would be, to anybody who is searching the case hereafter, a clear indication that the plaintiff was suing in a representative capacity, so far as that affects the question whether the other members of the joint family were bound. Here, there can be no doubt that they are bound and they have themselves said that they accept that position.

Therefore, I do not consider that the adult members of the plaintiff's family are necessary parties to the suit, and consequently I answer the first issue, in the affirmative.

*Suit decreed.*

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SHAH, A.C.J. AND CRUMP, J.

Emperor—Prosecutor.

v.

Hasrat Mohani—Accused.

Cr. Ref. No. 30 of 1922 decided on 11th July 1922 Reference made by the S. J., Ahmedabad.

(a) Penal Code, Ss. 121 and 124-A—Instigation to wage war—Incitement to action is necessary.

So long as a man only tries to inflame feeling, to excite a state of mind, he is not guilty of anything more than sedition. It is only when he definitely and clearly incites to action that he is guilty of instigation and, therefore, of abetting the waging of war. (34 Bom. 394 at p. 408) followed. [P. 285, O. 1.]

(b) Penal Code (XLY of 1860), Ss. 71, 121, 124-A and Cr. P.C., S. 35, Explanation—Speech coming under Ss. 121 and 124 A—Accused liable only to one punishment.

If the Court had held that accused was guilty under S. 121, the Court could not impose a second penalty without setting aside the sentence already passed under S. 124-A as the accused would be liable to one punishment only in respect of the speech, in view of the explanation to Cr. P. C. S. 35 and Penal Code, S. 71.

Kango and S. S. Patkar—for the Crown.

Shah, Ag. C. J.—This is a reference under Section 307, Criminal Procedure Code, by the Sessions Judge of Ahmedabad.

The accused in this case was charged in respect of three speeches; two of these speeches were made by him at a meeting of the Indian National Congress and the third was made by him as the President of the All India Moslem League in December last at Ahmedabad. In respect of the first two speeches he was charged under Section 124-A and in respect of the third under Sections 124-A and 121, I. P. C.

The offences under Section 124 A were triable with the aid of assessors and the offence under Section 121 was triable by a Jury in that District. He was accordingly tried by the Sessions Judge and a Jury in respect of the offence under Section 121 and with the aid of the Jurors as assessors as regards the other offences. The Jury returned a verdict of 'not guilty' under Section 121 and as assessors they were of opinion that the accused was not guilty under Section 124-A.

The learned Sessions Judge was competent to deal with the case so far as it related to Section 124-A, and differing from the assessors he found the accused guilty under that section in respect of the three speeches, and sentenced him to suffer rigorous imprisonment for two years on each count directing the sentences to run concurrently.

There has been no appeal from the convictions and sentences and we are concerned with that part of the case. The Sessions Judge did not agree with the verdict of the Jury as regards the charge under Section 121 and as he considered necessary for the ends of justice to refer the case to the High Court he has done so.

We have, to consider the entire evidence in the case to give due weight to opinions of the Jury and the Judge and decide whether the speech in question offends against Section 121.

The accused wanted to present his defence in person: and this Court ordered that he may be allowed to do so. We have heard the learned Advocate-General for the Crown and the accused, who appeared in person.

The charge against him is that in making the speech in question he abetted the waging of war against the

within the meaning of that Section, that is, he instigated his audience to wage such war. Whether the accused did so or not is a question of fact to be decided mainly upon the speech itself.

There can be hardly any evidence 'outside the speech in a matter of the kind: and it is not suggested that there is any evidence except the evidence of the witness Durgadas, representative of the Associated Press, Ex. 12. I doubt whether his opinion as to the effect of the speech is relevant; and even if it be relevant it has hardly any real value. The learned Advocate-General has mainly relied, and in my opinion rightly, upon the speech itself.

Before dealing with the speech, I may mention that as pointed out by Heaton, J. in *Emperor v. Ganesh Damodar Sawarkar* (1), "so long as a man only tries to inflame feeling, to excite a state of mind, he is not guilty of anything more than sedition. It is only when he definitely and clearly incites to action that he is guilty of instigating and therefore abetting the waging of war."

It is perfectly true, that it is not essential that as a result of the abetment the war should be waged in fact. But the main purpose of the instigation should be the 'waging of war'. It should not be merely a remote and incidental purpose 'but the thing principally aimed at by the instigator.

The mere fact, that a person may try to do it in an indirect and disguised manner would not be sufficient to save him from the operation of the section; but I think that the Court ought to be satisfied that he has instigated the waging of war i.e. the use of violence for the purpose of effecting innovations of a general and public nature. I have no desire to attempt to lay down any general proposition as to what is sufficient to constitute an abetment of the waging of war against the King within the meaning of Section 121.

Having regard to the facts of this case, it is sufficient to bear in mind what I have said above in determining the question of fact arising for our decision.

Coming to the speech itself, it may be stated at once that the appeal or instigation to violence, such as it is, is to be found in the two paragraphs at page 11 of

the print, to which I shall refer presently. Apart from those paragraphs, it could not be said that the speech is open to the construction that the accused meant to instigate his hearers to violence. His plea for the change in the wording of the aims and objects of the League by substituting the words 'possible and proper' for the words 'peaceful and legitimate', and his appeal for starting immediately a parallel government independent of all British control, by setting up on a separate and permanent foundation courts, schools, art, industry, army, police and national parliament would not constitute by themselves the 'waging of war', within the meaning of Section 121, though those ideas would be open to other objections.

This speech is fairly long and it is not necessary to refer to all other matters in the speech in detail. But when it was put to the learned Advocate-General, he fairly and I think rightly, conceded that but for the two paragraphs it would be difficult to bring the case within Section 121.

His argument however, is that the speech should be read as a whole and that the above ideas coupled with the said two paragraphs amount to a sufficiently clear and direct incitement to violence for the purpose of overthrowing the government established by law in this country.

The accused has also argued that the speech should be read as a whole, and he contends that if it be so read it is nothing more than a plea for the amplification of the scope of the present aims and objects of the League, and for starting a parallel government with a view to obtain complete Swaraj, that his object was not to dissuade the members of the League from the creed of non-violence but to persuade them to adhere to it as far as possible, and to so modify the aims and objects of the League as to leave it open to any member to depart from non-violence when absolutely necessary for his self-defence.

He has argued that he definitely rejected the alternative of upsetting the present government by 'sword'; and has throughout pleaded for another alternative for establishing an independent parallel government by peaceful means resorting to violence only if it becomes necessary to do so in self-defence in future for maintaining such a government.

(1) (1910) 34 Bom. 394 = 5 L.C. 851 = 12 Bom. L. B. 105.

It will be convenient to quote the two material paragraphs instead of attempting to summarise them:—

"People are no doubt prepared to bear and suffer gladly the hardships of a few days of imprisonment. But on the declaration of Martial Law the non-violent non-co-operation movement will prove totally insufficient and useless. Amongst the Mussalmans at least there will hardly be found a man who will be prepared to sacrifice his life uselessly—man can have only one of two feelings in his heart when faced by the barrel of a gun, either to seek refuge in flight or to take advantage of the law of self-preservation and despatch his adversary to hell, the third alternative that of cheerfully yielding up one's real success will remain confined to Mahatma Gandhi and some of his adherents and fellow thinkers. I on my part fear that in general the reply to the Martial Law will be what is commonly called Guerilla warfare or in the words of the Kuran "Kill them wherever you find them." The responsibility for all this bloodshed will rest on the shoulders of the Government.

"Consequently, as representatives of the Mussalmans the members of the All India Moslem League should consider it their duty either to refrain from adopting non-co-operation as their creed or free it from limitation of keeping it either of violence or non-violence, for it is not in our power to keep non-co-operation peaceful or otherwise. So long as the Government confines to the use of chains and fetters, non-co-operation can remain peaceful as it is to-day but if things go further and Government has recourse to gallows or machine guns, it will be impossible for the movement to remain non-violent. At this stage some people would like to ask, how is it that while the Hindus are content to adopt non-violent, non-co-operation as the means for attaining independence that the Mussalmans are anxious to go a step further. The answer is, that the liberation of Hindustan is as much a political duty of a Mussalman as that of a Hindu. Owing to the question of Khilafat it has become a Mussalman's religious duty also."

Reading these paragraphs it is difficult to say that they are not susceptible of the

construction which the accused seeks to put upon them. In any case I am unable to say that they constitute a direct and clear incitement to violence.

Taking the speech as a whole, and taking the broad effect of these paragraphs in relation to the main theme of his speech as indicated above, *viz.*, the change in the aims and objects of the League and the immediate starting of a parallel government, I am not satisfied that it is sufficient to bring the case within the scope of Section 121, that is to constitute a clear and direct incitement to action as distinguished from a state of mind.

I have considered the reasons given by the learned Sessions Judge in support of his view. Even taking the summary of the speech as given in paragraph 8 of his charge to the Jury, I cannot say that it amounts to a clear and direct incitement to violence.

The learned Judge has observed that "step by step the speaker maps out the stages which are to culminate in possible resistance to the Government established by law."

That seems to me to constitute the weakness of the prosecution case, for it shows that the immediate and direct object is not the use of violence: but it indicates a realisation on the part of the accused as to the probable use of violence in future under certain circumstances which no doubt the accused thinks will arise, but which in fact may or may not arise. After giving my best consideration to all the arguments and the speech itself, I am unable to hold that it constitutes such incitement to action as would bring the case within the meaning of Section 121.

At its best it is a doubtful case: and it was open to the Jury under the circumstances to find the accused not guilty.

I do not express any opinion about the exact meaning and scope of the quotation from the Quran in relation to its context in the holy book as to which there was some argument before us and upon which the accused laid some emphasis. For after all the effect of the quotation has to be considered in relation to its context in the speech, in which the words are quoted: and secondly in the



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view I take of the case it is not necessary to do so.

I need hardly add that on the present reference I am only concerned with the question as to whether the speech amounts to an abetment of the waging of war, and my observations as to the speech are made with reference to that question only.

I would, therefore, acquit the accused of the charge under Section 121, I.P.C.

It is desirable to point out that in view of the explanation to Section 35 of the Criminal Procedure Code, and the provisions of Section 71 of the Indian Penal Code as interpreted by a Full Bench in *Queen Empress v. Mulu* (2) the accused would be liable to one punishment only in respect of the speech. The learned Sessions Judge found him guilty under Section 124-A and sentenced him to two years' rigorous imprisonment in respect of the speech in question.

In case this reference had been allowed, we could not have imposed a second penalty without setting aside the sentence already passed. Though at one stage I thought that there might be some difficulty in doing so, I am satisfied that in view of the provisions of Section 307, Sub-section (3) and Section 423, Sub-section (1) clause (d) of the Code of Criminal Procedure there would be no insuperable difficulty in dealing with the case under Section 121 as regards the sentence and in setting aside the sentence under Section 124-A for that purpose, if it were necessary to do so.

**Crump, J.**—This is a reference by the Sessions Judge of Ahmedabad under Section 307 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. It is for us to form our own opinion on the case after giving due weight to the opinions of the Judge and the Jury. The nature of the case is such that those opinions cannot be of much assistance, for we have to deal not with facts but solely with the correct interpretation of a single speech which is Exhibit 7 in the case.

It is a common place, but one, which requires to be restated from time to time, that criminal charges must be strictly proved and that the benefit of any reasonable doubt must be given to the accused. The question here is whether the accused has

committed the offence of abetting the waging of war against the King. The abetment charged is abetment by instigation, and the point for decision is whether the speech Ext. 7 discloses such instigation. Instigation is active suggestion or stimulation of emotion to do an act.

The act here is the waging of war and the waging of war is the attempt to accomplish by violence any purpose of a public nature. As to the purpose, here there is no disguise. It is to bring about complete independence by establishing a republic. If the accused actively suggested to his audience that they should use violence, or stimulated them to use violence in order to achieve that purpose he is guilty. It is immaterial that he may have sought to disguise his meaning so long as the meaning is clear. On the other hand it is equally immaterial that the speech is within the scope of Section 124-A if it does not contain any active suggestion or stimulation to the use of violence.

The test, the only test, is to read the words, and to decide what is the probable effect on the audience to whom it was addressed. The words must be taken in their natural meaning and in the order in which they stand. If the result charged is not clear beyond reasonable doubt then the offence is not made out. If it is not possible to say affirmatively that the accused intended to instigate his audience to violence, then he must be acquitted, however mischievous the speech may be.

The opening portions of the speech may be summarized as follows :—

I. It would have been better had another President been elected.

II. The All India Moslem League is in a weak condition.

III. The existing objects of the League are set out. The first is "the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all peaceful and legitimate means."

IV. The causes of the weakness of the League are analysed. The main cause is that Swaraj is not defined in accordance with Moslem desires.

V. In order to remove this cause of weakness "Swaraj" should be defined as "complete independence". The form of

Government should be "an Indian Republic on the lines of the United States of India". Further the words "peaceful and legitimate" should be deleted and the words "possible and proper" be substituted.

VI. The advantages of an Indian Republic are explained. The main advantage is the removal of the English power which is a hindrance to the removal of misunderstanding between Hindus and Mussalmans as is shown by the Moplah troubles in Malabar, as to which a long digression is introduced.

VII. After this digression the speaker returns to his main theme, *viz.* the amplification of the definition of Swaraj and the necessity of substituting "possible and proper" for "peaceful and legitimate" in defining the means by which "Swaraj" is to be attained. The reason given for this change is that it is necessary to open the League "to those who do not honestly believe non-co-operation alone as the sole path of salvation and recognizing the possibility of other methods adopt them also." Also it is necessary to "remove the complaint of those who believe that non-co-operation can under no circumstances remain peaceful to the last . . . and refuse to remain non-violent even in intention."

The portion of the speech summarized above leads up to the passage on which the prosecution mainly rely. So far the meaning is shortly this. "Let us define as our goal complete independence, and widen the definition of our means so as to admit all shades of opinion violent or non-violent." Up to this point the speaker advocates no line of action.

It is unnecessary for me to set out again the passage which follows. I propose to give briefly the meaning of it as I understand it. The speaker says that there are only two possible means of replacing one Government by another: one, destruction by the sword: the other by setting up a parallel Government. So far as he advocates either it is the latter. "Friends, to achieve this object we must immediately set up on a separate and permanent foundation our own courts, schools &c., &c."

He then goes on to point out that ultimately a stage will be reached when action on peaceful lines will become impossible because the existing Government will un-~~derstand~~ one to such action. The distinc-

doubtedly interfere. When Government interferes and if and when Martial Law is declared non-violent non-co-operation will become utterly useless. For the Mussalmans at least will defend themselves when faced by the barrel of a gun. "I on my part fear" the speaker says "that in general the reply to Martial Law will be what is commonly called Guerilla warfare, or in the words of the Koran "Kill them wherever you find them" the responsibility for all this bloodshed will rest on the shoulders of Government."

The meaning may be further illustrated by a passage which follows. "So long as the Government confines itself to the use of chains and fetters non-co-operation can remain peaceful as it is to-day, but if things go further and Government has recourse to gallows and machine guns it will be impossible for the movement to remain non-violent."

The substance of the matter is this. "Let us continue by peaceful means: probably in the future Government will proclaim Martial Law and use machine guns. If so certain persons will use violence in self-defence. The blame will rest on Government."

Does such language amount to instigating the waging of war? I adopt the words of Heaton, J. on this matter. "So long as a man only tries to inflame feeling to excite a state of mind he is not guilty of anything more than sedition. It is only when he definitely and clearly incites to action that he is guilty of instigation and therefore abetting the waging of war." *King Emperor v. Ganesh Damodhar Sawarkar* (1).

I cannot find here any incitement to action. The accused says no more than this. "Let us proceed on peaceful lines as long as we can. In the future some of us will be compelled to use violence in self-defence." Such language is gross sedition, but it is not to my mind an offence under Section 121 for the plain reason that there is no incitement to action.

If the worst construction is put upon the speech it amounts to a prophecy or even a threat that violence may be necessary in future. It does not suggest action here and now, or stimulate

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tion is clear enough if reference is made to any of those cases in which there has been a conviction under Section 121. I hold therefore that the accused cannot be held guilty of that offence.

I would only add that I agree with my learned brother as to the applicability of Section 307 read with Section 423 to the circumstances of this case.

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MACLEOD, C.J., AND SHAH, J.

*Raghunath Shivaji Kulkarni and others*—Plaintiffs-Appellants

v.

*Ramachandra Narayan Joshi and others*—Defendants-Respondents.

S. A. No. 27 of 1921 decided on 3rd August 1921 from a decision of Asst. Judge, Sholapur, in A. No. 112 of 1919.

*Dekhan Agriculturists' Relief Act (1879), S. 13*—Mortgage—Accounts showing larger amount due than the Bond amount—No decree can be given for more than the bond amount.

Even if, on taking accounts under S. 13 of the Act, the Court finds that the principal sum due to the plaintiffs at the date of the mortgage bond is a greater sum than the sum mentioned in the mortgage bond, the plaintiffs having admittedly taken a bond for a lesser sum, that is all the principal amount which could possibly be considered as secured on the property mortgaged. As a rule the object of directing accounts to be taken under the Act is to ascertain how much of the amount secured by the bond is principal and how much is interest, after going into the history of the transactions between the parties. But once the creditor has taken a bond, then in no possible case can he recover in a suit on the bond more than the principal amount with interest.

(P. 290, C. 1, 2.)

*W. B. Pradhan* for *P. B. Shingne*—for Appellants.

**Macleod, C. J.**—The plaintiffs filed this suit to recover on a mortgage bond Rs. 1,500 for principal and Rs. 1,500 for interest. The 1st and 4th defendants appeared. They admitted the mortgage bond but contended that the whole consideration was not received; that the 1st defendant was in difficulty and so he

admitted the previous debt of Rs. 900; that instalments should be granted; that accounts should be taken; and that the defendants only received Rs. 600 as consideration.

Accordingly the learned Subordinate Judge took accounts with the result that he found that, on the 28th January 1903, two days before the bond, the principal sum due to the plaintiffs was Rs. 3,185-13-0. Nothing was paid in cash on the day of the bond, so that taking the principal sum on the date of the bond to be Rs. 3,185-13-0, he considered that double that amount should be allowed. But as he had to take accounts up to the day of the suit, on the latter day the principal sum due was Rs. 3,338-2-0, and so he passed a decree for double that amount, *viz.*, Rs. 6,676-4-0 and costs of the suit to be paid in yearly instalments of Rs. 400 each.

In appeal this decree was varied by substituting in the decretal order the words "Rs. 1,500 for principal and Rs. 1,500 for interest up to the date of the suit together with future interest at 6 per cent. per annum on the principal amount of the unpaid portion of it, and proportionate costs," for the words "Rs. 6,676-4-0 and costs."

It seems to us that the learned Subordinate Judge took entirely a wrong view of the functions of the Court in taking an account under the Dekhan Agriculturists' Relief Act. The plaintiffs admittedly took a bond for Rs. 1,500, and, therefore, that was all the principal amount which could possibly be considered as secured on the property mortgaged. Even supposing the learned Judge was right in finding that at the date of the bond a greater sum than Rs. 1,500 was due to the plaintiffs if they chose to take a bond for Rs. 1,500, they cannot be allowed to contend afterwards that the balance of the amount should also be considered as secured on the mortgaged property.

As a rule the object of directing accounts to be taken under the Dekhan Agriculturists' Relief Act is to ascertain how much of the amount secured by the bond is principal and how much interest after going into the history of the transactions between